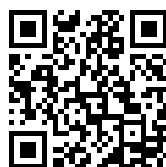

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

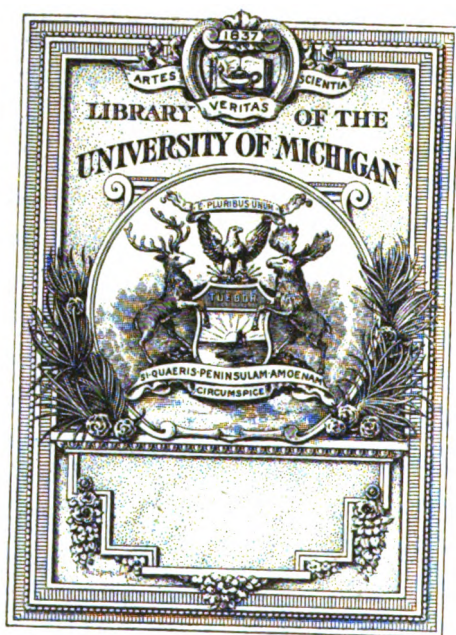
GoogleTM books

<http://books.google.com>



A 553429





BX
1756
.W81
1888

147

THOMAS BAKER'S NEW CATHOLIC PUBLICATIONS

ON SALE AT

No. 1, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.

WISEMAN'S (Cardinal) Essays on Various Subjects. (A new Selection.) With a Biographical Introduction by the Rev. JEREMIAH MURPHY, C.C., of Queenstown, Co. Cork. (Upwards of 550 pp.) Handsome 8vo., cloth extra, 12s.; postage 6d. 1888.

Catholic Versions of Scripture. The Parables, Miracles and Actions of the New Testament. Ancient and Modern Catholicity. Christian Art. Pope Boniface VIII. The Council of Constantinople. Two Letters on John 1, v. 7. Early Italian Academies, &c., &c.

WISEMAN (Cardinal).—Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church. *New Edition.* (570 pp.) Handsome crown 8vo., cloth extra, 4s. 6d.; postage, 5d. 1888.

MISTAKES OF MODERN INFIDELS; or, Evidences of Christianity. A complete refutation of Col. Ingersoll's (so-called) "Mistakes of Moses," and of other objections against Christianity. *First European Edition.* Crown 8vo., cloth let., 4s. 6d.; postage 4½d.

"A more extended and elaborate work than that of Father Lambert in the same field."

Has had the recommendation of all the Catholic Bishops in the United States and Canada.

"Father Northgraves gives a full and conclusive reply to Col. Ingersoll's 'Mistakes of Moses.' He proves that the Colonel has mistaken Moses, and that Moses is in accord with the established facts of modern science, though happily not in accord with some of the more reckless speculations of certain scientists who are sceptical first and scientific afterwards."

THE ASCENT OF MOUNT CARMEL. Written in Spanish by ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. A new translation corrected from the last Spanish edition of 1885 by DAVID LEWIS, to which is prefixed a LIFE OF THE SAINT by the Translator. Thick handsome 8vo., over 500 pp., cloth extra, 12s.; postage 6d. 1888.

THOMAS BAKER, 1, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON.

PIUS THE NINTH AND HIS TIMES. An Historical Biography. *First European Edition.* By the Rev. **ÆNEAS MACDONNELL DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S.,** Parish Priest, of Ottawa, Canada. 440 pp., 8vo., cloth extra, 6s. 1887.

"Dr. Dawson's historical biography of Pius the Ninth is the best that has been written in our language."—*Month.*

DODD'S CHURCH HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Commencement of the XVth Century to the Revolution, 1688. With Notes by M. A. TIERNEY. Maps, 5 vols., 8vo., cloth, £1 15s. nett. 1839.

THE FAITH OF CATHOLICS confirmed by Scripture and attested by the Fathers. Compiled by BERRINGTON and KIRK, and re-cast by WATERWORTH, corrected and revised, with many important additions, by MGR. CAPEL. Three handsome volumes 8vo., cloth extra, 15s. nett (pub. £2 10s.) 1885.

THE SUPERNATURAL LIFE. Conferences delivered in retreat to the Ladies of Lyons. By Monsignor MERMILLOD, Bishop of Herbon and Vicar Apostolic of Geneva, and Author of "*La Femme du Monde*," &c., &c. Translated from the French, with a Preface by LADY HERRERT. 417 pp., thick crown 8vo., cloth extra, new, 3s. nett ; postage 5d.

FLANAGAN'S (Canon Thomas) History of the Catholic Church in England, from the dawn of Christianity in this island to the re-establishment of the Hierarchy. (Published at 18s.) Thick vols., 8vo., over 1200 pp., cloth, 8s. 6d. nett ; postage 9d.

LINGARD'S (Dr. John) The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church ; containing an account of its Origin, Government, Doctrines, Worship, Revenues, and Clerical and Monastic Institutions. *New Edition*, in 2 vols., crown 8vo., boards, 6s. nett ; postage 5d.

LINGARD.—A New Version of the Four Gospels, with Notes, critical and explanatory, by Dr. JOHN LINGARD. Thick 8vo., boards, 3s. 6d. nett ; postage 5d.

ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

By the same Author.

LECTURES on the principal
DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES
of the CATHOLIC CHURCH.
New and Complete Edition
(570 pp.), Cr. 8vo., Cloth
extra, 4s. 6d.

ESSAYS

70506

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

BY

HIS EMINENCE

Nicholas

CARDINAL WISEMAN,

^ =

Late Archbishop of Westminster.

WITH

A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

THE REV. JEREMIAH MURPHY,

Queenstown.

LONDON :

THOMAS BAKER, 1, SOHO SQUARE.

1888.

Years:

PRINTED BY H. WOLFF.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION... ..	i
2. CATHOLIC VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE... ..	1
3. THE PARABLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	31
4. THE MIRACLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	95
5. THE ACTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	175
6. TWO LETTERS ON 1 JOHN, v. 7	245
7. ANCIENT AND MODERN CATHOLICITY	315
8. THE HIGH CHURCH THEORY OF DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY	353
9. CHRISTIAN ART	411
10. BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE COUNCIL HELD AT CON- STANTINOPLE	451
11. POPE BONIFACE VIII.	469
12. EARLY ITALIAN ACADEMIES	533

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

NEARLY a quarter of a century has elapsed, since the author of the following Essays was borne with almost regal pomp, through the streets of London to his last resting-place in Kensal Green. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that England wept at his tomb; though only a few years previously his appearance on English soil was the signal for an outburst of anti-Catholic frenzy, scarcely second to the Gordon riots. Many causes had helped to bring about this so salutary change; but, there can be no doubt, that it was, in a very large measure, owing to the high personal character, and extraordinary abilities of the deceased Cardinal himself. In A.D. 1850 the *Times* poured forth on him the vials of its wrath in language of truculent bitterness; but in A.D. 1863 the same *Times* said: "He is certainly one of the men of the day; he has attained a high position; he is a man of varied and wide powers—a literary man, a linguist, a man of the world, an ecclesiastical leader, an orator." It is because he was all this, and very much more, that the prejudices which assailed him in the early years of his episcopate, gave place to feelings of respectful deference and kindness, shown him by non-Catholics in his later years.

The beginning of this century was a time of severe trial for English Catholics. In Ireland the Catholics were the overwhelming mass of the population, and, though labouring under many galling and degrading civil and religious disabilities, the strength of their numbers enabled them to profess openly, and practice the ordinances of their religion. In England it was not so. There, the Catholics were a mere fraction of the population, scarcely discernible among the Protestant masses by whom they were surrounded. Among them were many noble souls, who clung to their ancient faith with a spirit worthy of the early martyrs; and among the English clergy were many able and zealous men, who, for their great learning and pure, self-sacrificing lives, were respected even by the enemies of the Catholic faith. But, the Catholic body was too small to make any impression on the inert mass of Protestantism. Cardinal Newman, in that fascinating style so peculiarly his own, says: "One and all of us can bear witness to the fact of the utter contempt into which Catholicism had fallen by the time that we were born. . . . No longer the Catholic Church in the country; nay, no longer, I may say, a Catholic community, but a few adherents of the old religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about as memorials of what had been . . . cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen, as if through a mist, or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro" ("Second Spring"). Then, the English masses were saturated with anti-Catholic prejudices, instilled into them, and kept active, ever

since they had been robbed of their faith. Often, very trifling causes served to lash this feeling into fury ; and the result of such excitement frequently was, that the persons and property of unoffending Catholics were at the mercy of mob law. Such was the outlook for English Catholics when the future Cardinal Wiseman was born.

The Irish family of Wiseman is said to be descended from an ancient Essex family of that name. Mr. James Wiseman, the father of our Cardinal, was one of the Waterford firm of "Wiseman Brothers," which traded between that city and Seville. To evade the rigours of the Irish Penal Laws, Mr. Wiseman left his native country in 1771 and settled at Seville, where, in 1781, he married a Miss Dunphy, of Kilkenny. In 1793 Mrs. Wiseman died, leaving to her husband three daughters. After a few years, Mr. Wiseman came to London, where, in April, 1800, at the Church of SS. Mary and Michael, Commercial Road, he married Miss Strange, daughter of Mr. Peter Strange, of Aylwardstown Castle, Co. Kilkenny. This was the mother of the future Cardinal. Shortly after this marriage, Mr. Wiseman with his family returned to Seville, and there his second son, Nicholas Patrick Stephen, was born on the 2nd of August, 1802, and was baptized on the following day by an Irish friar, Revd. James Ryan. Mr. Wiseman died of an apoplectic fit in 1805, and, two years subsequently, Mrs. Wiseman with her family left Spain for England. She arrived at Portsmouth on the 1st of January, 1808, and, after a short visit to

London, she returned with her children to her native country—Ireland. In a speech at Waterford in 1858, the Cardinal referred as follows to this early portion of his life: “I arrived in England at the age of from six to seven years. I spent a short period in London, and then came directly here. I arrived in this neighbourhood at Aylwardstown without being able to form a sentence, or perhaps being able to speak ten words in the language in which I now address you. I was put into a boarding-school at Waterford, and, it was there I learned, for the first time, as completely as a child could learn it, the language in which I am now speaking.” After nearly two years spent at Waterford, Mrs. Wiseman with her family went to England, and the future Cardinal was sent to St. Cuthbert’s College at Ushaw, which he entered in March, 1810. Though a mere child when he entered Ushaw, young Wiseman showed unmistakable signs of that extraordinary natural ability which distinguished him in after life. He was intended for the priesthood, and with Dr. Lingard and other such men as his teachers, the talent and industry of the young student resulted in a most successful preparatory course. At the early age of sixteen he was sent to Rome “in company with five other youths sent to colonize the English College in that city, after it had been desolate and uninhabited during almost the period of a generation” (“Last Popes,” p. 1). In the wreck of Rome by the French soldiers in 1798 the English College was involved, and it remained closed till 1818, when, through the influence

of Cardinal Consalvi, it was reopened by Pius VII., with Dr. Gradwell as Rector. While at Ushaw young Wiseman and some of his companions had made a special study of the history, the topography, and the antiquities of Rome; and we can understand their feelings now, as they were about to see those things of which they had read so much and thought so long. "Long-standing desires were about to be satisfied at last . . . when, at the end of the road which looks straight onwards from the Milvian Bridge, we could see the open gate of Rome" ("Last Popes," 5). As he entered through that Flaminian Gate he could have no presentiment of the day when, "*out of*" it, he, as Prince of the Church, would dispatch to his adopted country that celebrated manifesto which sounded as a trumpet-note of resurrection for English Catholicity. The band of young students entered their new home on the 18th of December, and on the following Christmas Eve a select few of them were, in accordance with instructions from the Pontifical Secretary, to be presented to Holy Father. Nicholas Wiseman was one of the fortunate few; Pius VII. received them with paternal kindness and affection; welcomed them with evident feelings of emotion, and blessed them, adding, "I hope you will do honour to Rome and to your own country." It is needless to observe that this hope was fully realized in the case of young Nicholas Wiseman. He now entered in real earnest on his ecclesiastical studies; and, for the ecclesiastical student, what spot on earth can compare with Rome, or afford equal advantages? There, he takes

in the spirit and teaching of the Catholic Church at its source. The Polyglot Society in which he finds himself, gives him an idea of what that Church is, which counts her children from "every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation." For him there are "sermons in stones" wherever he may turn within the Eternal City. Each one of her many churches has a history, that will carry his mind back through the ages of faith, often to the time when the cry "*Christianos ad Leones*" reminded the Christian of the risk involved in attachment to his faith. A visit to the Catacombs, will teach him the value set on faith by those who dug out those subterranean cities, in them, to give to God that worship which tyrants forbade to be given Him in the open light of day; there is the long, living, unbroken tradition, binding the Pontiff who now officiates at the "Confession of St. Peter," with the first of the long line, whose relics lie in the crypt below; there are libraries filled with the choicest treasures of knowledge; museums filled with the rarest specimens of art; and the most distinguished Professors of the Sacred Sciences are drawn around the Papal chair. The advantages of such associations are incalculable to a student of talents and industry, and young Wiseman was of that class. He pursued his studies with zeal and assiduity; and, while devoting special attention to his professional studies, he found time also for the study of languages, ancient and modern. He read extensively works on philology, the natural sciences, and general literature, with a result that,

early in his college career, he had already laid the foundation of that erudition, varied, extensive, and profound, which subsequently made him conspicuous, even among such intellectual giants as Mai and Mezzofanti. The highest honours were awarded him in his various classes. In 1824, when only twenty-two years of age, he was made Doctor in Divinity—in his case, no empty title, given “*honoris causa*,” but the well-earned reward of real merit, secured at a public thesis, at which the calibre of the young disputant is always rigorously tested. An incident connected with his theses is well worth recording: “I remember well in the particular instance before my eye that a monk, clothed in white, glided in and sat down in the inner circle; but though a special messenger was dispatched to him by the professors, he shook his head and declined becoming an assailant. He had been sent to listen and report. It was F. Cappellari, who, in less than six years, was Pope Gregory XVI. Not far from him was seated the Abbé de la Mennais, whose works he so justly, and so witheringly condemned. Probably it was the only time they were ever seated together when they thus listened to our English youth vindicating the faith of which one would become the oracle and the other the bitter foe” (“Last Popes,” 190). Dr. Wiseman was ordained priest on the 19th of March, 1825, and in the following year was made Vice Rector of the English College. In 1827, by special appointment of Leo XII., he was made Professor of Hebrew and Syro-

Chaldaic in the Roman University ; and he became Rector of the English College, on the promotion of Dr. Gradwell to the London District, in 1828.

Hitherto, Dr. Wiseman was known within a limited circle, as a talented, industrious, and successful student, amiable, gentle, retiring, a strict observer of college discipline, and of exemplary piety. Henceforth, his official position rendered his life, to a great extent, public property ; the seeds sown in patient soil were to produce their abundant fruit, and he was to exemplify in his own person, that “ no one is better qualified to rule than those who have learned diligently to obey.” To the students under his care he was a father ; he accompanied them in their walks, and especially at vacation times, and explained to them, from his vast store of knowledge, all the objects of interest that came in their way. He did not confine them to the dry routine of technical studies, but encouraged them in the pursuit of general knowledge, and especially encouraged them, in the study of English classical writers. Under such enlightened rule the students of the English College were contented and happy. Both as Rector of his College, and as agent for ecclesiastical affairs of the English Vicars Apostolic, Dr. Wiseman was brought frequently into close relations with the highest officials in Rome, and very often, into the presence of the Holy Father himself. Thus his character, worth, abilities became known within that inner circle that has the control of ecclesiastical affairs ; and it was soon generally felt, that a brilliant future lay open to the young Rector.

Nor was it merely in clerical circles that Dr. Wiseman's character was, thus early, appreciated. English visitors to Rome, whether Catholic or non-Catholic—indeed, English speaking visitors generally—found a genuine welcome and generous hospitality at the English College, and found in its accomplished Rector a “guide, philosopher, and friend.” The easy freedom which Dr. Wiseman's guests enjoyed, may be inferred from the fact that, often sitting face to face with John of Tuam, might be found some Tory squire who had voted against Catholic emancipation. And, despite his various duties, Dr. Wiseman found time to lead his friends around from one to another of the myriad “sights” of Rome. He would delight his companions with the history of each church that was visited; would tell them of the sacred relics that reposed within it, of the paintings and other art treasures that adorned it. To every mouldering temple, ruined arch, or broken column, he would impart a new life, by his sketch of the associations connected with it. He would plunge into the recesses of the Catacombs, and, while exploring with ease and confidence “the tortuous winding ways,” would entertain his friends with the history of each niche and sarcophagus as he passed along. The broken inscription he would restore and read; he would moralize on the heroic constancy of the early martyrs, who entombed themselves there to commune with God, while Pagan Rome was groping her way blindly above. Thus were many life-long friendships begun, and the old long-standing pre-

judices of non-Catholics softened down, and often effectually removed by the kindness shown them, and by the enlightened interest manifested in their regard. But it was amongst his books that Dr. Wiseman felt most at home; and he continued his studies with an ardour intensified rather than diminished by the multitude of his official duties and by the other frequent calls upon his time. Theology, canon law, biblical criticism, archæology, philology, history, languages, general literature he studied with as much zeal and success as if his undivided attention had been devoted to any one branch separately. As a linguist he had few equals even in Rome, and no superior, except the famous polyglot Cardinal Mezzofanti. At the age of twenty-six he published his "*Horæ Syriacæ*," a work which established his fame as an Oriental scholar, and which effectually removed the difficulties against the scriptural proof for the "Real Presence." Of this book Mezzofanti said to the author: "You have put your knowledge of languages to some purpose. When I go I shall not leave a trace of what I know behind me" ("*Russell's Life of Mezzofanti*," 395). And Dr. Russell, who knew Cardinal Wiseman intimately, says of him: "The Cardinal is, moreover, a most accomplished linguist. Besides the ordinary learned languages, he is master not only of Hebrew and Chaldee, but also of Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit. In modern languages he has few superiors. He speaks with fluency and elegance French, Italian, German, Spanish, and Portuguese; and in most of these languages he has frequently preached or

lectured extempore, or with little preparation ("Life of Mezzofanti," 95). This knowledge of languages enabled Dr. Wiseman to take a foremost place among the biblical scholars of his day. He was the friend and associate of Mai, Mezzofanti, and Theiner, and a partner in their literary labours. His fame brought him into frequent correspondence with eminent scholars in countries outside of Italy. He says himself: "it is pleasant to remember having conversed, and sometimes corresponded, with such scholars in France as the patriarch of oriental literature, Sylvestro De Sacy; the rival of Grotefend and precursor of Rawlinson, Saint-Martin; the inaugurator almost of Tartar and Mongolian learning, Abel-Remusat; not to mention Balbi Ozanam, Halma, and many others, and in Germany to have been in similar relation with Möhler, Klee—both too early taken from us—Scholz, Schlegel, Windischmann the elder, and the two noble-minded Görreses" ("Last Popes," 260). This extract speaks for itself.

The time was now at hand, when religion was to reap abundant fruit from the talents and acquirements of her gifted and devoted son. While Dr. Wiseman was little more than a child at Ushaw, the English Government was seeking to enslave the Catholic Church by means of the veto. But the attempt to force this hated measure on the Catholic body, was defeated, by the zeal and vigilance of the Irish bishops, ably seconded by Dr. Milner. The success of the Catholics on the veto question, stimulated them to renewed exertions to gain their political rights; and, organized by the indomitable energy and

consummate skill of O'Connell, they were again successful; and Catholic emancipation was extorted from the fears of the Government. With liberty, came new life and energy to the Catholic body. And, within the Anglican establishment too, among many signs foreboding spiritual death, there were just then appearing indications of new and unusual life. The Oxford movement was at its beginning, and from the character of its leaders, their great ability, their industry, their sincerity, their pure motives, and their blameless lives, it was easy to see, that the movement would influence very largely the religious future of England. In Germany, a movement of a different kind had long been in progress. There, infidel theorists had been explaining away the Bible, robbing it of its supernatural character, and reducing it to a level with Hindoo mythology. Michaelis, Eichorn, Rosenmüller, Paulus, Strauss, were the prophets of the new system, although differing somewhat in their styles and methods, labouring for the same bad end, and, with energy worthy of a good cause. Here, then, on one side and on the other, an abundant harvest lay open to the Catholic missionary,—a field in which, while much fruit was to be gathered, enemies of no ordinary calibre had to be encountered. In England, the authority of the Bible was practically unquestioned; and the controversy between the various religious bodies regarded its interpretation. In Germany, the Bible itself was on its trial; and the aim of the Catholic apologist was, to collect independent evidence in support of it. For either phase of the controversy Dr. Wiseman was admir-

ably fitted. In 1835 he delivered his celebrated "Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion," first to the students of the English College, as an introduction to their theological course, and subsequently, at the request of many friends, to a public audience in the apartments of Cardinal Weld. The lectures established Dr. Wiseman's reputation as one of the most profoundly learned men of his day. In a clear, bold, dignified style, and, with that easy confidence which accurate knowledge inspires, he goes over the whole wide domain of knowledge, sacred and secular; he discusses ethnography, physiology, natural sciences, history, archæology, and biblical criticism, in such a manner as would lead one to think that, in each, he was a specialist. Everywhere there is evidence of extensive and profound learning; everywhere there is the same solidity of judgment, a calm judicial spirit of criticism, in showing how each science gives its testimony in confirmation of revelation. There is scarcely a writer worth quoting as an auxiliary, or worth refuting as an adversary, that is not noticed. And, it is the highest tribute to the author's merit, that most of his statements have stood the test of fifty years, during which scientific investigation has been pursued with an ardour hitherto unknown, and generally in a spirit hostile to the aim of Dr. Wiseman in delivering his "Lectures." They were translated into most European languages, and three German editions appeared during the author's lifetime. In 1830 Dr. Wiseman had occasion to write a short essay, giving a brief sketch of the matters

subsequently treated in the "Lectures." This essay was presented to Pius VIII., who, on reading it, said to the author, "You have robbed Egypt of its spoil, and shown that it belongs to the people of God." No one can read the "Lectures" as published without feeling the force and justice of this remark. In the summer of 1835 Dr. Wiseman came to England. In the Advent of that year he delivered a course of controversial lectures in the Sardinian Chapel, and in the following Lent, a more extended course, at St. Mary's, Moorfields. The subjects chosen were the burning topics of controversy in England just then, and, as Dr. Wiseman's fame had long preceded him, crowded audiences attended the lectures, and an extraordinary ferment was excited by them. Of these lectures Cardinal Newman said: "Monsignor Wiseman, with the acuteness and zeal which might be expected from that great Prelate, had anticipated what was coming, had returned to England in 1836, had delivered lectures in London on the doctrines of Catholicism, and created an impression through the country, shared in by ourselves, that we had for our opponents in controversy, not only our brethren, but also our hereditary foes" ("Apol.," 140). Such was Dr. Wiseman's industry that, in the early part of 1836 he published his "Lectures on the Church," "Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion," and his "Lectures on the Real Presence," besides some articles for the Reviews. The lectures were fiercely assailed, from the pulpit, in the press, in pamphlets, in reviews, and, generally by persons

whose zeal was in the inverse ratio of their knowledge. One of the most vigorous assaults came from a pugnacious Irish parson, the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, a gentleman who had given up the Catholicity, as well as the poverty, of his early days, for a Trinity College education, and a "living." Of such writers Dr. Wiseman took no notice whatever—probably the severest punishment he could inflict upon them. His mind was busy with a more important matter just then. In Rome, in 1833, he had a visit from Mr. H. Froude and Dr. Newman, and from their conversation he must have learned the religious revolution that was mysteriously working its way at Oxford. Since then, he had been anxiously watching the movement, and now, that he was in England, he was better able to judge of its importance, and of the possibilities of good to English Catholicity, offered by it. He found, to his surprise, that as yet, the movement had excited very little attention among Catholics; and, believing that "it would have been more than stupidity—it would have been wickedness," to permit such apathy to continue, he resolved to counteract it. In conjunction with O'Connell and Mr. Quinn, he started the *Dublin Review*, in order "to watch its (the movement's) progress, to observe its phases, to influence, if possible, its direction, to move it gently towards the complete attainment of its unconscious aims, and, moreover, to protest against its errors, to warn against its dangers, to provide arguments against its new modes of attack, and to keep lifted up the mask of beauty under which it had in

sincerity covered the ghastly and soulless features of Protestantism" ("Essays," Vol. i., Pref. viii.). To this work of zeal and charity Dr. Wiseman applied himself in the pages of the *Dublin Review*; and the three volumes of his collected essays bear ample testimony to the worth of his labours. From his co-religionists he found but scant encouragement. For a long time the leaders of the Catholic body regarded the Oxford movement with suspicion and distrust; and there was much to justify the feeling. Movements somewhat similar had been before, and had raised high hopes, only to end in disappointment. And, the language of the Tractarian leaders was often very violent and bitter. But Dr. Wiseman hoped while others doubted and distrusted, and the event proved that he was right. His eye was always on the Tractarians and on their writings; and by a timely article in the *Review* he never failed to point out their errors and inconsistencies, to expose their visionary theories, their inconsequent logic, and always in language of studied moderation. And it must be regarded as one of the greatest glories of his splendid career, that he was thus instrumental in bringing within the true fold, some of the ablest men of this, or of any other age. After the publication of the first number of the *Dublin Review* Dr. Wiseman returned to Rome, and intelligence soon reached him, that his lectures had been attacked, by writers of a very different calibre from those who had hitherto challenged them. In No. 40 of the *British Critic* a very elaborate article appeared, directed specially

against the "Lectures on the Rule of Faith." It is now known, that this article was the work of one, whose active and powerful mind was then working its way unconsciously towards the Catholic Church; one who, within the Church, has been worthily honoured with the highest ecclesiastical dignities, who is loved and venerated by his co-religionists, for the noble sacrifices that he has made, and the splendid services that he has done, in the cause of truth—the illustrious Cardinal Newman. Dr. Newman failed to answer the "Lectures," but the fault lay, not in the advocate, but in the cause. The article on "The High Church Theory of Dogmatic Authority," contained in this volume, is Dr. Wiseman's answer, in which he proves conclusively, that the Tractarian theory of authority is, in itself, a delusion, and is utterly repudiated by the Anglican Church.

The "Lectures on the Real Presence" were attacked by Dr. Turton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and subsequently Bishop of Ely. In these lectures Dr. Wiseman appears at his best. His knowledge of Oriental languages, his intimate acquaintance with biblical hermeneutics, enabled him, with his logical mind and great industry, to put the Catholic argument in a clearer, stronger light than it had yet been put, and yet in that tone of moderation and good temper that is so characteristic of the learned writer. To meet such an argument Dr. Turton was pre-eminently unfit, as the event proved. He was shallow, impetuous, offensive, "the Divine is lost in the scold." Clamorous

declamation takes the place of argument; hard names are substituted for hard facts, so much so that Dr. Wiseman complained: "I have perhaps received a degree of harsh language exactly proportioned to the care with which I studied to avoid its use" ("Reply," p. 6). But "harsh language" in argument is like a flag of distress at sea: the former indicates the failing cause, as the latter does, the sinking ship; and the use of such language by his assailant only made Dr. Wiseman's work more easy. His "Reply to Turton," published in 1839, demolished the work of the Regius Professor, and is at the same time an excellent supplement to the argument contained in the lectures.

While Dr. Wiseman was thus fighting the battle of the faith, the Catholic body in England was rapidly growing, in numbers and in importance; and, as a consequence, their spiritual wants were greatly multiplied. To meet these wants four new bishops were appointed, and Dr. Wiseman was sent as coadjutor to Dr. Walsh, of the Midland, or new Central, District. He was consecrated as Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus*, by Cardinal Franson, in the chapel of the English College, on the 8th of June, 1840. A few months later he returned to England, and took up his residence at Oscott, of which he was appointed president. His feelings on leaving Rome he describes thus:—"It was a sorrowful evening at the beginning of autumn, when after a residence in Rome prolonged through twenty-two years, till affection clung to every old stone there, like the moss that grew into it, this strong but tender tie

was cut, and much of future happiness had to be invested in the mournful recollections of the past" ("Last Popes," p. 291). There would seem to be something more than human prudence determining Dr. Wiseman's appointment, to the district within which the great centre of the Tractarian movement lay. With the strength and vigour of youth, stimulating his powerful and cultivated mind, he set himself to the work to which the voice of God had called him. His essay on the "Catholic and Anglican Churches" (*Dublin Review*, August, 1839), had already fallen like a thunderbolt on the Tractarians. By one quotation in it, according to Cardinal Newman, "the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized" ("Apol.," 212). And he added, in writing to Mr. Bowden: "It made a great impression here (Oxford), and I say, what of course I would only say to such as yourself, it made me for awhile very uncomfortable in my own mind" ("Apol.," 231). Dr. Newman sought to answer the essay in the *British Critic* for 1840, but merely proved, that the Anglican Church was fast losing its hold upon himself. The movement was hastening fast to its goal, accelerated by events of startling importance following in rapid succession. Tract 90, the Jerusalem Bishopric, the condemnation of Dr. Ward, and other events of less note, all went to verify the cry "tendimus in Latium" uttered by Dr. Whately while the movement was yet in its infancy. And all along Dr. Wiseman, like a sentinel on a watch-tower, was noting accurately every phase of the movement, and, as occasion required, was using the *Dublin Review*

to correct the mis-statements and expose the fallacies of the leaders—doing everything to steer the movement towards the Catholic Church. The end soon came. One after another of the prominent Tractarians joined the Church, and ultimately the great leader himself came over ; and thus was Dr. Wiseman's confidence justified, his hopes realized, and his soul gladdened by the golden harvest which his zeal and patient toiling had helped to gather in. It is a remarkable coincidence that, just at the time of Dr. Newman's conversion, Dr. Wiseman was in Paris soliciting from the French bishops public prayers for the religious movement in England ; and stranger still is it that, to the prayers so obtained, Dr. Pusey attributed the loss to Anglicanism of his great colleague. Another cause, too, was helping to hasten the coming of the great grace accorded to Dr. Newman. Father Dominick, who received him into the Church, in a letter to the *Tablet* of Dec. 6th, 1845, after describing the general appearance of Littlemore, says:—"In the cells nothing is to be seen but poverty and simplicity—bare walls, floor composed of a few rough bricks without carpet, a straw bed, one or two chairs, and a few books ; this comprises the whole furniture ! The refectory and kitchen are in the same style, all very small and very poor. From this description one may easily guess what sort of diet was used at table : no delicacies, no wine, no ale, no liquors, but seldom, meat, all breathing an air of the strictest poverty such as I have never witnessed in Italy, or France, or in any other country where I have been. A Capuchin

monastery would appear a great place when compared with Littlemore." Such was the daily life "of one whose long-continued petition had been, that the Most Merciful would not despise the work of His own hands, nor leave him to himself, while yet his eyes were dim, and his breast laden, and he could but employ Reason in the things of Faith" ("Essay on Development," p. 453). The seed fell on most fertile soil, and produced fruit an hundred-fold. God did "not leave him to himself," but led him out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage into the full light of that "blessed vision of peace" for which he sighed and prayed so earnestly and so long. The shock of Dr. Newman's conversion was felt throughout the whole extent of the Anglican Establishment. Bigots railed at him in violent and indecent language; but Anglicans who were educated and sincere, felt that the old rusty calumnies against the Catholic Church must be abandoned. Conversions multiplied; day after day the Establishment was surrendering those of her children whom she could least afford to lose; and Dr. Wiseman, encouraged by the results already attained, continued to watch the movement, all the more attentively, labouring with zeal intensified and hope strengthened to guide its onward course. In this, it must be admitted, he was ably seconded by the Anglican bishops themselves, whose treatment of the Tractarian leaders, clearly showed, that the movement could not find its home in the Anglican Church. Soon the Gorham judgment came, to wreck, as it did effectually, the theory of Church

authority maintained by the Tractarians; for it proved that a clergyman may deny the most vital dogmas of the Christian creed, without endangering his ecclesiastical position; and that, in determining what is, or is not, heresy, the appeal lay, not to the Early Fathers and councils, as Tractarians fancied, but to the Privy Council, as prosaic facts proved.

Meanwhile, Dr. Wiseman was nearing that great event with which his name shall, for all time, be connected in history—the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy to England. Since his appointment as Vicar Apostolic he had resided at Oscott, and while there, was brought into official relations with most of the leading converts, to whom he was always a wise counsellor and a kind, sympathetic friend. Catholics generally were proud of his great talents and acquirements; and his administration had given very general satisfaction. It was therefore felt, on all hands, that he was destined to fill a leading position in the Church in England. In 1847 a rumour, for which there was some foundation, got abroad that the Hierarchy was to be re-established, and speculation was rife as to the probable appointments. The *Tablet* of Nov. 6th referred to the matter thus:—“We believe the wish is in the fullest sense *universal*, that the Archdiocese should be illustrated by the zeal, the learning, the piety, the great capacity of Dr. Wiseman.” When these words were written Dr. Wiseman had been, since the death of Dr. Griffiths, administering the London District, pending the appointment of a regular Vicar Apostolic. After some months Dr. Walsh, of the Central District,

was removed to London, and Dr. Wiseman was made his coadjutor, with right of succession. Dr. Walsh died on the 18th of February, 1849, and Dr. Wiseman was then Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

For a considerable time, a desire for the re-establishment of a regular Hierarchy, had been growing stronger among English Catholics. The Catholic body had become very large and influential, and, now that they were emancipated by law, there was no longer any reason why they should be governed in ecclesiastical matters like a few stray Christians in the Corea or Sandwich Islands. In 1847 Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Sharples had been in Rome with reference to the question ; and in the following year, the negotiations were brought to a successful issue by Dr. Ullathorne, the amiable and learned Bishop of Birmingham. Because of the outbreak of the Revolution at Rome, the project was, for a time, delayed ; but the difficulties soon disappeared, and, on the feast of St. Michael (September 29th) 1850, Pius IX. issued his brief "*Universalis Ecclesiæ*," which restored to England her Catholic Hierarchy, of which she was robbed so long before. In the new arrangement, Dr. Wiseman was made Archbishop of Westminster, and with him were appointed twelve bishops. On the day following his appointment as Archbishop, Dr. Wiseman was created Cardinal, with the title of St. Pudentiana ; and four days later on, he received from the hands of the Pope, the hat, and also the pallium, as the sign of his metropolitical jurisdiction. On the 7th of October the new Cardinal issued

his famous Pastoral, "given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome," announcing to his spiritual children the ecclesiastical changes that had been made, and exhorting them to give due thanks to God for the great blessings thus conferred upon them. This was the signal for an outburst of unreasoning passion, such as has been seldom witnessed in England. All the dormant prejudices of Protestantism were lashed into fury: The Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, led the way with his notorious "Durham Letter," in which the action of the Pope is denounced as "a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England," "inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation," &c. The letter concluded with an angry appeal to the passions of the masses, who venerated "the glorious principles and the immortal Martyrs of the Reformation," against what the writer was pleased to call "the Mummeries of Superstition," and "the laborious efforts to confine the intellect and enslave the soul." Had the writer been sincere his action might be attributed to ignorance, and his sincerity would serve to excuse the violence of his language; but Lord John Russell was not sincere, as his published "Recollections and Suggestions" abundantly prove. The angry note he sounded was eagerly caught up on all sides. Bishops in their "charges," parsons from their pulpits, Members of Parliament, and other orators from their platforms re-echoed the cry of "the Church in danger." Meetings were held, resolutions were

passed expressing the most orthodox horror of Pope and Popery, and the Sovereign was loudly appealed to, to check the insidious pretensions of Rome. Zealots within the Establishment found in the circumstances of the time much to fill them with dark forebodings. The Hampden promotion and the Gorham judgment showed the disorganization in their own church; while, at the same time, the most distinguished members of both universities were, day after day, seeking rest for their souls in the Catholic Church. That at such a time a Cardinal should appear on English soil—a Prince of that Church which the English masses were taught to hate—all this seemed to warrant the most violent appeals to prejudice and passion; and, as was only natural, the masses were wrought up to a degree of excitement, that threatened serious danger to the lives and properties of Catholics. Some too prudent Catholic friends advised the Cardinal not to return to England, until the storm would have somewhat abated. Letters were received by him, threatening him with death should he venture to come. But neither threats nor persuasions could induce the Cardinal to alter his resolution. He announced the very day on which he would take possession of his Cathedral, and he kept his word. He began by publishing his celebrated “Appeal to the English People,” which fell like oil upon troubled waters, and in a very short time produced the most salutary effect on public opinion. After recounting the events that led up to the restoration of the Hierarchy, the Cardinal frankly told the

English people, that prejudice should not perpetuate the bonds which the law had broken. He showed that the alleged invasion of the Queen's supremacy, was merely a mischievous misrepresentation, inasmuch as, the new ecclesiastical arrangement was, merely carrying out the letter and spirit of the Emancipation Act; and as the Dean and Chapter of Westminster felt specially aggrieved that the Cardinal should have invaded their sacred demesne, by taking from it his title, he assured them that they had nothing to fear. He said, that henceforward, as heretofore, he would visit the Abbey and pray "by the shrine of the good King Edward, and meditate on the time when the Church filled, without a coronation, and multitudes hourly worshipped without a service." He said he would pay his entrance fee, like any other visitor, and would listen patiently to the beadle, but that, as far as he was concerned, all the privileges of Dean and Chapter, should remain undiminished, and their rich revenues unimpaired. The effect of the appeal on public opinion was very great; but something should be done to give effect to the threat contained in the Durham letter. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was introduced in 1851, and hurriedly passed into law, against the protests of the Irish Catholic members, and of a few English members, in whom prejudice did not deaden the sense of justice. It is worth remembering in our time, that one of those who fought most strenuously against the prevailing bigotry, who opposed every stage of the progress of the Bill, was Mr. Gladstone, then in the vigour of manhood; and it is one

of the glories of the veteran statesman's career, that he himself removed from the English Statute Book this, as well as many other blots, that had long defiled its pages. The storm was too violent to last ; the Bill remained a dead letter ; the prejudice which secured its enactment gradually subsided, and got its death blow when *Punch*, in a celebrated cartoon, represented Lord John Russell as "the little boy who chalked up 'No Popery' on the wall and then ran away." The conduct of the Prime Minister, with reference to the so-called Papal Aggression, is all the more reprehensible from the fact, that he was long well aware of the contemplated measure, and that his Government had left the Pope under the impression that no opposition would be offered to it. Speaking to a deputation of English Catholics on the 6th of October, 1850, the Pope said, "I perceived that the proper moment had come for executing the great enterprise for which you have come to return me thanks. I do not think there will be anything to apprehend in consequence. I spoke of it at the time to Lord Minto, and I understood, that the English Government would not oppose the execution of my design." And Cardinal Wiseman, in his letter to Lord John Russell, written at Vienna, when he was on his way to England, reports, that Lord Minto had been informed of the contemplated change. It was believed, and openly stated at the time—and with good reason—that the Prime Minister was plying a political game in the interest of his party ; and with that unworthy object, he did not hesitate to scatter

broadcast, the seeds of religious discord, to pander to the most dangerous passions of the multitude, and, by so doing, to excite a storm that threatened grave danger to the lives and properties of his fellow-subjects. While the English press was, with few honourable exceptions, teeming with violent attacks on the Catholic Church, it is not a matter for surprise that strong language should be used on the other side. Mr. Lucas, in the *Tablet*, with that blunt honesty so characteristic of him, employed his vigorous pen to hurl defiance at the Prime Minister and his adherents. A writer in the *Rambler* (Dec., 1850) said: "A few dissolute idlers can, at any time, get up a riot against any person or any institution; and the falsehoods which are still scattered profusely among the wealthy as well as the poor might at any moment kindle a fierce blaze against us. But as to disturbances on a large scale they cannot be, and for the best of reasons—we are too numerous and too powerful to endure them." This writer adds that the Catholics of London "could quell any popular tumult with their own right arms alone," and that if priests were insulted or churches molested thirty thousand Irish Catholic workmen in London would ask the reason why. Such language, at a time of great excitement, was, no doubt, imprudent; but we must take into account the provocation offered. The Cardinal's language was then, as always, calm, dignified, firm. Unmoved by the excitement, he set himself to discharge the duties of his high office. Early in December he was enthroned in his cathe-

dral with all the gorgeous pomp of Catholic ceremonial; and he proceeded, without delay, to deliver his "Lectures on the Hierarchy." Addresses poured in on him from all sides, testifying the love and loyalty of the Catholic body; thus more than compensating for the insults offered by the "Papal Aggression" orators, and for the pain caused him by the strange defection of a few nominal Catholics, who seem to have prized place, and privilege, and social intercourse, more highly than their faith. Converts still continued to flock into the church. And at this time Cardinal Wiseman welcomed to the Catholic Church one, destined worthily to wield his crozier, and wear his mitre, with all the honours and dignities attached thereto; and destined, too, because of his extraordinary abilities, his high personal character, and the holiness of his life, to carry forward to results even more glorious the work which Cardinal Wiseman had begun. Archdeacon Manning (as he then was) was one of the most trusted and universally respected of the High Church leaders. His sound, practical knowledge of the world, his zeal, his ability, his eloquence, the purity of his motives, the holiness of his life, his position, his high connections, gave him an influence which none of the other leaders had. He had laboured hard and long to reconstruct the Anglican establishment, and were it possible to rebuild that house of sand he would have done it. But he found his position becoming untenable, and the Gorham judgment finally convinced him, that he was labouring, not in the Church of St. Augustine and Thomas à Becket, but in the

time-serving community of Cranmer and Burnet. And feeling all this he made a choice which will be a source of joy and blessing to English Catholics for many generations yet to come.

In 1852 Cardinal Wiseman and his brother bishops met in Synod at Oscott, to adopt measures of discipline for the future guidance of their flocks. The Cardinal preached the opening sermon, and in language of great power and beauty, set forth the peaceful mission to England of the Catholic Church. In a second session Dr. Manning preached a magnificent sermon, on the Compassion of our Lord for the multitudes, as manifested by the recent ecclesiastical changes, whereby the Church resumed her mission of mercy to the English people. In the third session Dr. Newman preached his celebrated sermon on "The Second Spring." The work of reconstruction so auspiciously begun, progressed and prospered. Converts came in increasing numbers ; new missions were opened ; churches and schools were multiplied ; and priests offered up the Holy Sacrifice in places, where no trace of Catholicity had been seen for nearly three hundred years. How far this good work was influenced by Cardinal Wiseman ; what was the character of his administration ; how great his zeal for God's glory ; how numerous his virtues ; how exalted his motives ; how holy his life ; what was the influence he exercised on the politics of his day—all this will form an inspiring theme for the writer of his life—and strange that it is not already written—but for the writer of this brief sketch, it is sufficient to say, that Cardinal Wiseman was ever

ready, by voice, and pen, and purse, to advance the interests of the Catholic Church in the land of his adoption ; and that he did so, without giving, even to his most sensitive opponents, any reasonable grounds for offence. If a new mission, a convent, an orphanage were to be opened, the humblest priest in charge might command the Cardinal's services ; if some over-zealous disputant assailed the doctrines or practices of the Church, the Cardinal's pen fell like a thunderbolt on the delinquent ; if anyone, struggling towards the Catholic Church, sought his counsel, his vast store of knowledge was laid open to shed new light on the path of the inquirer. He was kind and generous to the poor, courteous and affable to all. He was alive to all the wants of his people, and most assiduous in his efforts to remove their grievances and redress their wrongs. With such a man at the head of the Catholic Church in England, aided as he was by a zealous and learned body of bishops, it is no wonder, that the Catholic body grew rapidly, in numbers and in influence ; that they improved morally and socially during his episcopate. And such was his great industry, that his multiplied duties did not seem, in the least, to interfere with his literary labours. It is almost incredible that so hard a worker could be so voluminous a writer. Besides his professional studies, art, literature, natural sciences, political economy, almost every department of human knowledge had a share of his attention. And his writings on such subjects are not of the ephemeral class that create a sensation for the time, and are soon forgotten. No ; they have

been in great part translated into foreign languages; and are still read, with as much pleasure and profit as when they first appeared. In 1853 the Cardinal published his three volumes of "Essays on Various Subjects," reprinted, with few exceptions, from the *Dublin Review*. So highly were they valued amongst scholars at the time, that in less than a year a German translation of them appeared at Ratisbonne. The "Essays" are in the Cardinal's best style, clear, logical, incisive. The language is well chosen, the arrangement judicious, and there is a richness of illustration that always sets in the most favourable light the point on which the writer is insisting. The present volume is a selection from these essays; and the selection is made, in the belief, that the reader has here, the essays that are most permanently useful. Some very beautiful essays on the Puseyite movement are omitted, in the belief that, such essays would have little interest at the present time, when the Puseyite or Ritualist teachers, have dwindled down to a number of gentlemen of æsthetic tastes, whose ambition seems to be, to combine the ceremonies and the theology of our Church with the emoluments of their own.

"Fabiola" appeared in 1855, the first of a series of a projected "Popular Catholic Library." He says that "his desire was to make his reader familiar with the usages, habits, conditions, ideas, feeling, and spirit of the early ages of Christianity." That his desire was realized must be felt by every reader of this charming book. It is one of the most attractive, the most fascinating books in the whole range

of English literature. As a picture of the daily life of early Christians we have nothing like it. There we see them as they really were, true to life, true to history. St. Agnes, St. Sebastian, Pancratius are brought before us, not as beings of a higher order, apart, unapproachable ; they are brought near to us, as brother and sister, elevated, no doubt, highly by God's grace, but of our nature still ; and we are made to feel that we can, and ought to be like them. And the simple beauty of the saintly character is brought out, in a stronger light, by the contrast with the sordid treachery of Fulvius and Corvinus. In the Catacombs the author, without ceasing for a moment to be popular, is an antiquarian as well as a guide. He seems to live, and move, and have his being in the scenes he is describing. The book is the outpouring of a mind that is filled, saturated, with the spirit of the time and place ; and while the picture is true to life, the interest is admirably sustained throughout. The reader who wishes for pure, chaste amusement, will find it, true and genuine in "Fabiola ;" and will find at the same time, instruction and edification combined to such a degree, as they are not, perhaps, in any other book in the English language. If Cardinal Wiseman had written nothing else, "Fabiola" would have established his fame as a brilliant and fascinating writer. It has been translated into most European languages, and in French, Italian, and German several successive editions have appeared. In 1858 the "Recollections of the Last Four Popes" appeared. It is a splendid vindication of the character and policy of each of

the Pontiffs named in it. It is a tribute of grateful affection from one on whom each Pontiff conferred many favours. It is a pleasing, a popular, and in many respects a valuable book.

The Cardinal's visit to Ireland, at the close of that year, is one of the great events of his life. At the invitation of Dr. Derry, Bishop of Clonfert, he came to preach the dedication sermon of the Church of St. Michael, at Ballinasloe; and from his arrival at Kingstown, towards the end of August, till he sailed from the same place a month later on, his journey was a long triumphal procession. The fervid Celtic nature burst forth into a most enthusiastic welcome. He was welcomed as a great Prince of the Church, as a great bishop, with Irish blood circulating in his veins, as a great champion of the people's faith. No doubt he was English in manner and in sympathies; but he may have been all this without being unfriendly to Ireland. He was the personal friend of O'Connell, and of John of Tuam; and that his English sympathies implied no coldness to their country is evidenced by the extraordinary ovations he everywhere received. The Cardinal returned to England delighted with what he had witnessed across the Channel. He applied himself with his wonted assiduity to every detail of his duties, continuing at the same time to edify crowded congregations by his preaching, and to fascinate learned audiences by his lectures on various subjects of interest.

In 1862 Cardinal Wiseman went to Rome, to assist at the Canonization of the Japanese martyrs. On that occasion an address was presented to the

Pope by the assembled bishops. The address was drawn up by a Committee, of which Cardinal Wiseman was president; and a few days after the presentation, *La Patrie* stated, that an address had been written by Cardinal Wiseman, containing "most violent attacks on all modern principles fundamental of society," and recommending, that major excommunication should be issued at once, by name, against the chief enemies of the Pope's temporal power. The same report, without, however, any mention of the Cardinal's name, appeared in the first volume of the *Home and Foreign Review*, which had just recently taken the place of the *Rambler*. On his return to England, the Cardinal found the false report in circulation, and not at all unlikely to afford an occasion for mischief, to that numerous class of bigots, who were on the alert for an opportunity for striking a blow at the Catholic Church in England through its head. And, considering the source whence the report spread to English Catholics, the Cardinal could not but regard it, as another indication of a dangerous tendency on the part of a body of writers, able men, no doubt, and professing Catholics, but the aim of whose teaching seemed to be, to limit Papal authority, and restrict Papal prerogatives, in a manner incompatible with Catholic traditions, and gravely detrimental to the Church. Thus, then, an imperative sense of duty forced him to speak; and he did so, in a reply to the address of his clergy, as follows:—"With far greater pain I am compelled to advert to a covert insinuation of the same charges, in a

publication avowedly Catholic, and edited in my own diocese, consequently canonically subject to my correction." After giving the false report as circulated by the Review he added: "My brethren, I repeat that it pains me to have to contradict the repetition, in my own diocese, of foreign accusations, without the smallest pains taken to verify or disprove them with means at hand. But this can hardly excite surprise in us, who know the antecedents of that journal under another name, the absence for years of all reserve or reverence in its treatment of persons or of things deemed sacred, its grazing over the very edges of the most perilous abysses of error, and its habitual preferences of uncatholic to Catholic instincts, tendencies, and motives. In uttering these sad thoughts, and entreating you to warn your people, and especially the young, against such dangerous leadership, believe me, I am only obeying a higher direction than my own impulses, and acting under much more solemn sanctions." The Cardinal's prudent foresight in warning his flock "against such dangerous leadership" was painfully justified when, two years subsequently, the *Home and Foreign Review* became the apologist of Lamennais, Günther, and Frohschammer. The blow struck by the Cardinal was a heavy one, and was fatal to the Review, though the spirit which animated it continued to give trouble for some time longer.

It was at this advanced period of his life, and amid the ever-increasing cares of his episcopate, that Cardinal Wiseman delivered some of the best of his

many public lectures. His lecture at the Catholic Congress of Malines in 1863, spoken in French, is a splendid specimen of his brilliant style; a lecture on Self-Culture, delivered at Southampton, elicited a high encomium even from the *Times*; and a lecture on Shakespeare, which is considered the Cardinal's masterpiece for beauty of style and for depth and originality of thought: these, and some others of like merit, with two large volumes of sermons, and several miscellaneous articles, filled up the evening of a life of labour, fruitful in good, to such a degree as few other lives in the present century have been.

The end was near. Early in December, 1864, the Cardinal assisted at the opening of the House of the Ladies of "La Sainte Union," at Highgate Rise, and preached the sermon of the occasion. It was his last. The text chosen by him, "Brethren, be ye mindful of your Prelates," was like a voice from the tomb. A cold contracted a few days later on, aggravated a disease that had been gaining on him for some time. For two months he held out bravely, and patiently, against the painful, fatal illness; and then, strong in faith, and hope, and love, and rich in good works, fortified by all the rites of the Church and professing, with his last breath, his unquestioning faith in all her teachings, he breathed forth his pure soul to God on the 13th of February, 1865.

The announcement of Cardinal Wiseman's death evoked an expression of feeling, which even his greatest admirers could scarcely have anticipated. Men who had written and spoken unkindly, severely, of him, seemed to repent of the wrong they had done

him, and joined with his spiritual children in doing due honour to the illustrious dead. And as Cardinal Manning spoke the funeral oration, the audience, representing every phase of religious thought, listened with such rapt attention, as indicated a genuine sympathy with the noble and feeling eloquence of the distinguished preacher. Tens of thousands followed, while hundreds of thousands gazed on in respectful silence, as the funeral procession made its way slowly on to Kensal Green where the remains of Cardinal Wiseman were laid, with all the honours which his children could offer, and with all the gorgeous pomp and ceremonial, which the Catholic Church provides for her faithful dead. The text chosen for the funeral oration was an epitome of the deceased Cardinal's history, "Let him be a long time remembered who raised up for us our walls that were cast down, and set up the gates and the bars; who rebuilt our houses." He did, most truly, raise up the walls that were cast down; for the reconstruction of the Catholic Church in England, and its extraordinary progress during his episcopate, are in a very large measure owing to his great ability, prudence, and zeal. From the field of controversy he routed many a mischievous disputant; many a web of sophistry did he unravel; many a time-worn calumny did he refute. In his controversial writings he put the grounds of Catholic doctrine in a clearer, stronger light than they were ever put before, for English readers; and by his prudence and foresight he directed to a providential issue, the most extraordinary religious revolution

that England has witnessed since she was robbed of her faith. He was one of the grandest ornaments of Catholic literature, and a tower of strength to the Catholic cause, in his day. In every department of learning he was highly distinguished. A profound theologian, canonist, and historian, a great linguist, a learned antiquarian, a lover of all that is beautiful in art, he attained the highest honours, and all these honours his talents and his unaffected piety most worthily won.

revised by
J. M.

CATHOLIC VERSIONS
OF
SCRIPTURE.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1837.

CATHOLIC VERSIONS

OF

SCRIPTURE.

ART. IX.—*A new Version of the Four Gospels, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* By a Catholic.* London, 1836.

THE appearance of any work upon biblical literature is, unfortunately, a phenomenon amongst us. Whether this branch of theological science be cultivated as it deserves by the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, it might be deemed presumption in us to discuss; but of the manifestation, by its fruits, of such a study, we cannot avoid being cognisant. What is done in the seclusion of academical life, in the cloisters of our religious establishments, or in the rural solitude of our clergy, may be much more than falls under the public notice; the appearance of a work like the one that heads this article, shows that considerable abilities are, in secret, employed upon biblical pursuits, and must check the hasty conclusion, that little is done, because little appears. At the same time, the sudden and unannounced publication of a new version of Scripture was not the earliest indication which we should have expected of increased attention to these studies. We are utterly unprovided with even elementary and introductory works upon them, whether

* It is now well known that this work is from the pen of Dr. Lingard.

intended for the education of our clergy, or for the instruction of our people ; we possess not a commentary suited to the wants of the times, or the advances made in biblical science ; and are obliged to seek information either in voluminous, rare, and old writers, or in the productions of men whose religion differs essentially from ours. And even in this last resource, we have but scanty measure of relief. Protestant England is almost as badly provided as ourselves with works of practical usefulness ; and it would seem as though water were as bad a conductor of knowledge as it is of electricity ; for the narrow strip of it which girds our islands, most effectually precludes all communication of the various and interesting researches which occupy the continent.

But the indication of attention to biblical learning, which we should most confidently have expected to find preceding any new version of Scripture, and we will add, the proof of its existence which is most imperatively called for, is a revision and correction of that version now in use among Catholics, known by the name of the *Douay version*. We do not suppose that the learned author of the new translation for a moment imagined or intended that it should supersede the one now in general circulation. The sanctioned authenticity of the Vulgate, its use in all Catholic churches, the hold which it has upon the memory of clergy and laity, then the confined and partial nature of the new version, which comprises only the Gospels, and the form in which it appears, are sufficient proofs that he never entertained the idea. The correspondence between St. Jerome and St. Augustine, upon the difficulties encountered in introducing the translation of the former, instead of the old one made from the Septuagint, shows how little practicable such substitutions

are. We make these remarks only to conclude, that, whatever necessity existed, before the appearance of this version, for a thorough revision of the text generally used amongst us, the same necessity does still exist. While, therefore, we are ready to commend the zeal and ability which have led to this publication, we cannot but regret that no one properly qualified, and properly authorized, has yet been found to undertake such corrections and improvements in our received version as would finally settle its text, and save it from the repeated liberties which have been taken with it.

To call it any longer the Douay or Rheimish version is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published; and so far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are in general for the worse. For though Dr. Challoner did well to alter many too decided Latinisms, which the old translators had retained, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion, where it was congenial, at once, to the genius of our language and to the construction of the original, and by the insertion of particles where they were by no means necessary. Any chapter of the New Testament will substantiate this remark. For instance, in Heb. xiii., which we have accidentally opened, the Rheims edition (1582) has, v. 9, "With various and strange doctrines be not led away." This has been altered into, "Be not carried away with various and strange doctrines." The Latin is, "*Doctrinis variis et peregrinis nolite abduci.*" Again, v. 16, "Beneficence and communication do not forget," has been changed into, "And do not forget to do good and to impart." The Vulgate has, "*Beneficentiæ autem et communionis nolite oblivisci.*" Again, we take

examples quite at random, 2 Tim. ii. 16 : “*Profana autem et vaniloquia devita ; multum enim proficiunt ad impietatem.*” This the old version translated, “But profane and vain speeches avoid ; for they do much grow to impiety.” In the emended edition (1750) we have, “But shun profane and vain babblings, for they grow much towards ungodliness.” This correction is taken verbatim from the Protestant version, with the exception of “grow towards,” instead of “increase unto more.” But the change was injudicious : for the Latin compound *vaniloquium*, or the Greek *κενοφωνία*, is exactly expressed by “vain speech ;” whereas the word “babbling” corresponds to the entire word, and cannot have the epithet “vain ;” for, thus, the phrase would represent the absurd tautology “vanum vaniloquium.” In later editions, as that of Dublin, 1810, published with Dr. Troy’s approbation, the word “speeches” is restored, but the construction is not.

There is another alteration of more importance, especially when considered in reference to the present times, and the influence it has had upon established forms of Catholic speech. In the first edition, in conformity to Catholic usage in England, the word “*Dominus*” is almost always translated by “*Our Lord.*” The emended text changed the pronoun into an article, and says, “*The Lord.*” In the *Ave Maria*, Catholics have always, till lately, been accustomed to say, “*Our Lord is with thee ;*” as it is in that version, and as it was always used in England, even before that translation was made. But, in conformity with the change of the text, we have observed of late a tendency to introduce into the prayer a similar variation, and to say, “*The Lord is with thee :*” a change which we strongly deprecate, as stiff, *cantish*, destructive of the

unction which the prayer breathes, and of that union which the pronoun inspires between the reciter and Her who is addressed. We have no hesitation in saying, that this difference, trifling as many will consider it, expresses strongly the different spirits of our, and other, religions. It never has been the custom of the Catholic Church to say, "*The Redeemer, the Saviour, the Lord, the Virgin*;" "*Redemptor noster, Dominus noster*," and so "*our Saviour, our Lord, our Lady*," are the terms sanctioned; and, therefore, consecrated by Catholic usage since the time of the Fathers. We own it grates our ears, and jars upon our feelings, to hear the former essentially un-Catholic forms used by preachers and writers; they want affection; they are insipid, formal; they remind us of Geneva caps, and smack of predestination. The Rheims translators have explained their reason for their translation in a note, p. 585, as follows: "We Catholics must not say *The Lord* but *Our Lord*; as we say *Our Lady* for his mother, not *The Lady*. Let us keep our forefathers' words, and we shall easily keep our old and true faith, which we had of the first Christians." Nor is such a modification of the word "*Dominus*," peculiar to the English Catholics; the Syriac version, and after it the Syriac Church, calls Christ, not simply ܡܪܝܐ *morio*, "*The Lord*," but ܡܪܝܢ *moran*, "*Our Lord*," even where the Greek has *ὁ Κύριος*. If, therefore, it be considered too great a departure from accuracy in translation to restore the pronoun in the text of our version, let us at least preserve it in our instructions, and still more in our formularies of prayer.

But it had been well if Dr. Challoner's alterations had given stability to the text, and formed a standard to which subsequent editors had conformed. But, far from this being the case, new and often important

modifications have been made in every edition which has followed, till, at length, many may appear rather new versions, than revisions of the old. We believe Catholic Britain to be the only country where such a laxity of attention has existed in regard to the purity of its authorized version.^b And we should have even less reason to complain, had these systematic variations been the only vicissitudes to which it has been subject. The mass of typographical errors to be found in some editions is quite frightful, from many of them falling upon important words, and not so much disfiguring them, which would lead to suspicion and thereby to detection, as transforming them into others that give a correct grammatical, but unsound theological, sense. In 1632, the king's printers, Barker and Lucas, were fined £3,000, for the omission of one monosyllable; and the Oxford Bible of 1792 is considered a curiosity because it reads (Luke xxii. 34) *Philip* instead of *Peter*. But, in the edition which we have referred to,—of Dublin, 1810,—revised under Dr. Troy's direction by the Rev. B. MacMahon, many worse substitutions are to be found. A table at the end gives a number of them, as Matt. xvi. 23, "thou *favourest* not," for "thou *savourest* not;" and Romans vii. 18, "to accomplish that which is good I find *out*," instead of "I find *not*." The table of errata is, however, very far from complete; for instance, the following among others are omitted in it: Gal. iv. 9, "How turn you again to the *work*" (for *weak*), "and poor elements." Ib. v. 23, "modesty, continency, *charity*," instead of "*chastity*." In a note, p. 309, we read, "Sin—which was asleep before, was *weakened* by the prohibition," instead of "*awakened*."

^b We have not forgotten the Rev. Mr. Curtis's late Letter to the bishop of London.

Our principal object, however, at present, is to turn the attention of the Catholic clergy, and particularly the bishops of Ireland, and the vicars-apostolic of England and Scotland, to the want of a complete revision of the version itself, for the purpose of settling a standard text, from which editors in future may not be allowed to depart. In this manner, alone, will the Catholics of the empire be provided with what every other portion of the Church has long since possessed. It is far from our purpose to undertake a complete exposure of the many passages which want emendation—such a task would require a treatise. In order to confine ourselves within reasonable limits, we will only consider the necessity which a new revision would impose on those who should undertake it, of a minute and often complicated study of the original texts. We have selected this view of the matter, because we think it the point most neglected in the past, and most likely to be overlooked, and to form the great stumbling-block, in any future revision. For, at first sight, it must appear an almost superfluous task to proceed, in such an undertaking, beyond the accurate study of the work immediately translated. The Vulgate is written in Latin, and it would therefore appear sufficient to possess an accurate knowledge of the Latin language, in order to translate any work written in it into our own. It is our wish to prove the fallacy of such reasoning; and, on the contrary, to show what varied, and often delicate, questions of philology the translation may involve; and how impossible it is to correct or discover the mistakes of our Douay version, without a constant recourse to the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The object of such reference will be, to decide the true meaning of expressions, obscure or doubtful in the Latin. In the few examples which we intend

to give we shall consider the Alexandrine, or as it is commonly called, the Septuagint, version, as the original of the Psalms; because it is well known that the Latin used by us, and inserted in the Vulgate, is made upon that version, and not on the Hebrew original.

I. Let us select, in the first instance, a very simple example. In the fiftieth Psalm, v. 14 (Heb. li. 14), the Vulgate has, “et spiritu *principali* confirma me.” The Douay translators understood the adjective in the sense of *principal*, *excellent*, and accordingly translated the sentence thus, “and strengthen me with a *perfect* spirit.” Looking simply at the Latin, the word will certainly bear that sense; as Cicero says, “Causarum aliæ sunt *perfectæ* et *principales*.” But the question here is, did the author of the Vulgate use the word in this sense, and not rather in its other meaning, of princely? A reference to the Greek, from which the translation of this book was made, decides the question. For there we read, πνεύματι ἡγῆμονικῶς στῆριξόν με,—“strengthen me with a *princely* spirit.” In the Hebrew, the word used is נָדָב, which bears the same meaning, though it also derivately signifies “generous,” “noble.”^c

II. Wisdom viii. 21, we have the following sentence: “And as I knew that I could not otherwise be *continent*, except God gave it.” This is a verbal translation of the Latin, “Et ut scivi quoniam aliter non possem esse *continens* nisi Deus det.” The word *continens* corresponds to the Greek ἐγκρατής, here as in every other passage wherein it occurs through the sapiential books, and is never, save in this passage, rendered in our version by *continent*. This point is

^c Perhaps the old word “lordly” would best express the double meaning, as its corresponding term *herrlich* would in German.

easily established. Eccles. vi. 28, we have the same subject, the acquisition of wisdom, treated as in our text, in these words : “ Investiga illam, et manifestabitur tibi, et *continens factus*, ne derelinquas eam.” Our translators did not render these words, by “ being made *continent*,” but by “ when thou *hast gotten* her.” The Greek has *καὶ εγκρατὴς γενομενος* (v. 27, ed. Bos). These words occur in two other places, where, however, there is no ellipsis, but the object is expressed : xv. 1, “ Qui *continens* est justitiæ apprehendet illam ;” translated, “ he that *possesseth* justice shall lay hold on her.” And xxvii. 33, “ Ira et furor utraque execrabilia sunt, et vir peccator *continens* illorum erit ;” rendered, “ and the sinful man shall *be subject* to them ;” that is, shall *contain* or *possess* them. This last example proves, that *continens*, or *εγκρατὴς*, does not signify “ qui *se* continet,”—one who *restrains* himself, but one who contains or holds something else ; and the first instance quoted proves that it is so used elliptically, with omission of the object so held or contained.

These are the only other passages, if we mistake not, in which the Latin word occurs as an equivalent to the cited Greek one throughout these books. We may next ask, Ought a deviation to have been made from the meaning they elsewhere invariably bear, in Sap. viii. 21 ? And we answer, unhesitatingly, not. The entire passage is concerning the acquisition of wisdom. From verse 9 to verse 19, the writer gives us an account of his searches after it. In vv. 19, 20, he states the causes that led him to them ; first, his having been gifted with an ingenuous disposition ; and secondly, his having preserved himself from sin. The verse under consideration naturally follows : “ And as I knew that I could not otherwise *possess* it (wisdom),

unless God gave it (for this was also a point of wisdom, to know whose gift it was), I went to the Lord," &c. But if we read with our present version, "as I knew I could not *be continent*," &c., we have to meet multiplied difficulties. First, that not a word has been said about continence, but the whole antecedent matter has been concerning wisdom; secondly, that the parenthesis makes no sense, for the thing there mentioned as a gift cannot be continence, as *it* must refer to a substantive, and not an adjective, such as *continent*; and, moreover, its antithesis is lost,—“it was a point of wisdom to know whose gift *wisdom* is;” thirdly, that the prayer which follows, for the quality in question, is entirely for wisdom, and not for continence, which is never asked for. These reasons are more than sufficient for retaining, in this passage, the sense invariably attributed to *continens* in every other.

III. Ps. lxvii. 12, presents an instance in which an ambiguity of phrase compels us to recur, not only to the Greek, but, beyond this, to the original Hebrew. The Latin text runs thus: “Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus, *virtute multa* ;” and is thus translated in the Douay version: “The Lord shall give the word to them that preach good tidings, *in great power*.” The word *virtus* is manifestly ambiguous, as it often signifies a *host*, or *multitude*. Hence the common phrase, “Dominus virtutum,” is always rendered, “the Lord of Hosts;” and “virtutes cœlorum,” “the host of heaven.” It became, therefore, the translator’s duty to recur to the Greek; where he would find the words, *δυναμει πολλη*. But here the same ambiguity exists. For the word *δυναμεις* often indeed corresponds to terms significative in Hebrew of strength, as *כח*,^a

^a 1 Chron. xxix. 2; Es. ii. 69; Jer. xlviii. 45.

נְבוֹרָה, 'אֵין, and the derivations of עָוִי;^g but it almost as frequently corresponds to words of multitude, as עַם a people,^h הַמָּוֶה a multitude,ⁱ מַחֲנֶה a camp,^k חֵיל an army,^l and, above all, to צְבָא, the most usual word for a collection of men, or a host. As the equivalent of this word *δυναμις* occurs some hundreds of times in the Bible, and one of the occasions is the very passage under discussion; for the Hebrew text, lxviii. 12, reads צְבָא רַב. Thus, no doubt remains that the ambiguous Greek word *δυναμις* here stands for "multitude" or "crowds;" and this again determines the signification of the no less ambiguous Latin term "virtus."

All this investigation was absolutely necessary for the translator, before he could make sure of rightly rendering so simple a word; and the use of the adjective *multa* might have led him to suspect that number, and not strength, was contemplated. This verse would afford us room for several other curious philological remarks in illustration of our subject; but for brevity's sake we pass them over. We need hardly observe, that it alludes to the custom frequently mentioned in Scripture,^m and practised by other eastern nations besides the Jews,ⁿ of female choirs coming forth to celebrate the conquerors on their return from battle. The word corresponding in the original to "evangelizan-

^g Jud. viii. 21; 2 Reg. xviii. 10, &c.

^l Job xl. 11.

^h Job xli. 14; Ps. xx. 1; xlv. i.

^k 1 Chron. xxi. 2.

ⁱ 2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Reg. xx. 28; Jer. iii. 23.

^j 1 Chron. xii. 22.

^l This Hebrew word is ambiguous as the Greek and Latin ones in the text; but constantly means an army, as Exod. xiv. 28.

^m See Exod. xv. 20; Jud. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7; 2 Sam. i. 20.

ⁿ See, for instance, the account of the mountaineers of Tiproa, by J. Rawlins, Esq., in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. Lond. 1799, p. 191.

tibus" is in the Hebrew in the plural feminine, and this could hardly bear the present translation, "them that *preach* good tidings." The word *proclaim* would have suited better.

IV. We now call the attention of our biblical readers to a very curious rendering in the Vulgate, which seems to us to have been misunderstood by our translators, in consequence of not having attended to the original. This is Sophon. iii. 18, where the Hebrew has as follows : נו גי כמועד אספתי ממוך הוי. The Vulgate translates thus : "*Nugas* qui a lege recesserunt, congregabo, quia ex te erant ;" and is rendered thus by the Douay editors : "the *triflers* that were departed from the law I will gather together, because they were of thee." It must be noticed that the Latin word *nugæ* purposely corresponds to the Hebrew word נוגי, *nughe*. This is a passive participle of the verb נגה, and means "afflicted ;"^o though some lexicographers prefer the meaning of "removed," which occurs in the root, and is given by the Greek version, and some Jewish Commentators."^p Now the rendering of St. Jerome strikes out a totally different signification, whether we translate it by *trifles* or *triflers*. But there is an old meaning of the word *nugæ*, which would exactly agree with the first of those we have mentioned. In Plautus, it means a "*lamentation*," the *nænia* or mourning song of the *præfica* ; and this is allowed to be probably the oldest meaning of the word. Hence, by a synecdoche, it might be used for a "mourner," as it is used for a "trifler." The question, therefore, which a translator of the Vulgate would have to ask himself would be, Can St. Jerome in this passage have used the word *nugas* in that older

^o See Winer's *Lexicon Manuale*, p. 396.

^p Rosenmüller's *Prophetæ Minores*. Lips. 1816, vol. iv. p. 68.

sense? And we should certainly be inclined to answer it affirmatively, on the following grounds.

1. St. Jerome, in his commentary, seems indifferent which interpretation we take,—his own, or Aquila's. "*Nugas, sive ut Aquila interpretatus est, translatus qui a te recesserunt congregabo.*"^a If he had used the word in the ordinary sense, the two versions could not for an instant have been compared. But the *sorrowful* and the *banished* are words whose meanings may be easily exchanged, as they are intimately connected by cause and effect.

2. Any one that has studied the version and commentaries of this Father must have seen their constant accordance with the traditions and opinions of the Jews; and were it necessary for us to illustrate this point by examples, we could do it by many passages in his notes upon the very book of minor prophets now under consideration. But, in fact, he tells us himself that in difficult passages he made it a point to follow his Jewish masters.^r Now the Jewish interpreters and commentators give two meanings to the word. The Targum, or Chaldaic paraphrase, and R. Solomon Jarchi, render it in the same manner as Aquila, approved by St. Jerome,—“the removed;” Kimchi, and most others, give the other meaning, “the sorrowful;” and the Gemara, an old comment upon the Babylonish Talmud, shows them both to have been maintained by the ancient Jewish teachers, inasmuch as it attributes the one to R. Joshua, and the other to R. Eleazar.^s Supposing “*nugæ*” to have

^a Comment. *in loc.*

^r “Hæc dico ut noveris quos in Prophetæ hujus campo habuerim præcursores, quos tamen . . . non in omnibus sum secutus, ut judex potius operis eorum quam interpret existerem, diceremque quid mihi videretur in singulis, *et quid ab Hebræorum magistris acceperim.*”

^s Cod. Berucha, cap. iv. fol. 26.

been used by St. Jerome in its less ordinary sense, we find him approving of exactly the two interpretations which his avowed teachers would have delivered to him, and hesitating which to choose. But if the word mean "trifles" or "triflers," it is impossible to account for the source whence he derived his interpretation, not deducible from the Hebrew root, unknown to every other biblical writer, and not taught him by those on whose authority in such points he relied.

3. St. Jerome, in his commentary, makes an apology, and gives a reason for having used this word: "Id quod diximus *nugas* sciamus in Hebræo ipsum Latinum esse sermonem, ut propterea a nobis ita ut in Hebræo erat positum, ut nosse possimus linguam Hebræam omnium linguarum esse matricem." This reasoning supposes that he had gone out of his way to select this word, which certainly would not have been the case, had he used it in its ordinary acceptance. On the other hand, we cannot suspect him of having sacrificed the sense to a mere resemblance between the Hebrew and Latin words. We must, therefore, conclude, that the word *nugæ* is here used in a rarer sense, but one which suits the meaning of the original; and the result of these reflections seems to be, that this word in the passage is to be rendered by *sorrowful* or *mourners*, a signification at once allied to the version of Aquila, given by the Rabbins, and accounting for St. Jerome's excuses.

V. It is singular that St. Jerome should translate on every occasion except two, the Hebrew word *צָרַר* and its derivatives, by *calumniari* or its substantives. Yet this Hebrew verb is admitted by all to signify *oppression* or *violence*, sometimes, perhaps, with an addition of *fraud*. The translator of the Vulgate must, there-

fore, inquire, whether St. Jerome really meant the word *calumniari* to be taken in the sense in which it is usually taken, or whether it bears in his version the peculiar signification of *violence*. If the former were the case, he *must* translate it by *calumny*, however this may differ from the original, since the translator's duty is only to present a faithful transcript of the Latin version. But if St. Jerome used it in the second sense, then the word *calumny* cannot be used, because it never bears with us the signification of *violence*. It is impossible to conceive that this learned Father could have used these terms in their ordinary acceptation, for they are often placed where the context will not admit of any signification but that of *violence* or *oppression*. Thus they are used in apposition with terms of unjust oppression,[†] they are spoken of whole nations, which certainly could not well be said to be an object of calumny or false accusation." The translator would, therefore, decide that the word *calumnia* and its derivatives in the Vulgate signify oppression. Yet this is not universally the case, but only when it corresponds to the Hebrew עָשָׂק or its nouns. For example, Genes. xliii. 18, we have the words, "ut devolvat in nos *calumniam*;" yet as the Hebrew verb there is not עָשָׂק but לְהַתְּבִיל, we must translate the word by a *false accusation*. It is only, therefore, by having the original open before us, that we could ascertain when the word was to be translated *violence* or *oppression*, or when *calumny* or *false accusation*. The Douay

[†] Deut. xxviii. 29, 33; Eccles. v. 7; Jer. vii. 6; Ezech. xxii. 29; Amos iv. 1. Two remarkable examples are Jer. xxii. 3: "Liberate *vi oppressum* de manu *calumniatoris*;" and xxi. 12, where nearly the same words occur.

[‡] Jer. i. 33; Osee v. 11. But see particularly 1 Kings (or Sam.) xii. 4, where the people say to Samuel, upon his retiring from government, "Non *es calumniatus* nos."

translators have indeed generally been right in their rendering of this word, because the context is generally such as to force us to a correct interpretation; but where this did not lead them, they have failed, and so have left the work unfinished. Thus, Gen. xxvi. 20; Levit. xix. 30; Prov. xxviii. 16; Ezech. xxii. 29; and Job x. 3, our version presents the word *calumny*.^x The last of these passages is remarkable, for Job is there said to upbraid God with *calumniating* him, when it is evident, from the circumstances of his history, as well as from the context, and the general tenor of his complaints, that harsh and oppressive treatment was what he objected to the conduct of the Almighty in his regard. Yet in all these passages the same word *puv* occurs in the original; and as we have seen already that St. Jerome understood this word of oppression, though he rendered it by *calumniari*, it is clear that in all these passages he meant this to have that meaning; and so it should have been rendered by our translators.

Only one thing would be wanting to make this reasoning satisfactory, and that is, to prove that the Latin word *calumnia* really has this meaning of oppression, or perhaps more properly of *vexation*. The Lexicons do not, it is true, present a signification sufficiently strong; the one, for instance, which approaches nearest in Forcellini,^y is No. 6, "Sumitur etiam latius pro quacunque vitiosa calliditate, astutia, vexatione." Craft, however, and not oppression, is here the essential ingredient, and all the examples brought show that he understands it only of vexatious, petty, proceedings in law. From this it would appear, that our translators were led only by the force of the context to

^x Isa. liv. 14, the first edition of our version, Douay, 1609-10, has *calumny*; the modern correction, *oppression*.

^y Sub voce *calumnia*, tom. i. p. 450, col. i. Patav. 1827.

select the extraordinary, but correct, interpretation which they have generally given. But it seems to us, that this word easily passed from its forensic use to a wider signification of oppression in acts; especially when under *the sanction of law*, which we apprehend to be the most ordinary use of *πῶς*. Hence this might be accurately rendered by *calumniari* in Latin. We think the following authority may justify this assertion. Under Domitian, and other cruel emperors, a heavy tax was imposed upon all Jews, and was exacted with peculiar rigour, and even cruelty. Suetonius thus writes of the Emperor we have named: “Præter cæteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime exactus est.”^a Under Nerva, the odious imposition was abolished, and a medal remains to commemorate the event. It bears this legend:—

FISCI. IYDAICI. CALVMNIA. SVBLATA.^a

Here the word *calumnia* evidently signifies “tyranny,” or “oppression,” and will fully justify the use of the word in this sense in the Vulgate, and consequently the translation which we suggest.

We cannot take leave of this word without recalling to our readers’ notice another remarkable text where it occurs. We allude to Luke iii. 14. The Baptist is there giving instructions to soldiers, on campaign,^b what they are to do. He suggests three points to their observance: the *first* is, to do violence to no man; the *third*, to be content with their pay. These two points are not only in accordance with the profession

^a Domit. c. xii. tom. ii. p. 328, edit. Burm.

^a Eckhel, Doctrina Num. Vet. tom. vi. p. 404. From the Imperial Cabinet of Vienna.

^b This circumstance is of importance for the rendering of the text. The word is *στρατευόμενοι*. See Michaelis, Marsh’s transl. tom. i. p. 51.

and habits of the persons instructed, but are also in perfect harmony the one with the other. The soldiers are not to enrich themselves by rapine, but to be satisfied with what they receive. We should expect the intermediate portion of advice to be of like character ; it is, *μηδὲ συκοφαντήσητε*. This the Vulgate renders by *neque calumniam faciatis*. The Douay version again translates, "neither calumniate any man."^o This is totally out of keeping with the context. The fact is, that the verb *συκοφαντέω* in the Greek of the Septuagint means to *oppress*, and is frequently put for the Hebrew *רָשָׁע*.^d It had thus acquired that force in Jewish Greek, like so many other words,^e and should be so rendered. This has been already noticed by writers on the Greek of the New Testament.^f

VI. We shall, perhaps, require still more indulgence from our readers for our observations on another passage from the Old Testament. Ps. xxxix. 9 (in the Septuagint), the Greek version has *σωμα δε κατηρτισω μοι*, "thou hast fitted a body to me." The Latin version of the Psalms, as we have before observed, is made from this Greek translation, and yet in this passage it has "*aures autem perfecisti mihi*," which the Douay version no less singularly renders, "thou hast *pierced* ears for me." For the verb "*perficio*" certainly never bore this signification in any ancient writer. At first sight, it would appear as though the Vulgate, par-

^o The English authorized version has nearly the same,—"*Neither accuse any man falsely.*"

^d Job xxxv. 9; Psalm clxviii. 121; Proverbs xiv. 33; xxii. 16; xxviii. 3; Eccles. iv. 1.

^e It is an admitted principle in Hermeneutics, that the Greek of the Seventy is one of the great keys to the right interpretation of the Greek of the New Testament. See Arigler, *Hermeneutica Biblica Generalis*. Vienna, 1813, p. 103.

^f Vid. Schleusner sub voce *συκοφαντέω*, and Kuinoel *in loc.*

ticularly if we admit the correctness of the English rendering, had in this verse been taken from the Hebrew, which has לִי אָזְנוֹת כְּרִית “*aures perforasti mihi.*” Before, therefore, censuring the Douay rendering, and consequently showing the necessity of recourse to the original texts, we must prove that the Vulgate in this verse is not made upon the Hebrew, which it seems to resemble, but on the Septuagint, to which it bears so little affinity.

A slight comparison of the entire Psalm, in the Vulgate, with the two texts, will satisfy the most superficial scholar, that every other verse is translated from the Greek; and this affords us a strong presumption that this passage was derived from the same source. The principal difficulty resides in the substitution of *aures*, “ears,” for *σωμα*, “body.” But this change is easily accounted for in two ways. First, several copies of the Septuagint read *ωτια*, “ears,” instead of *σωμα*. In Parsons’s continuation of Holmes’s critical edition of that version, we have the following note upon the passage, “*Σωμα δε] ωτια δε (Cod.) 39, ωτια δε, 142, 156 (292 marg.).*”^s The same reading is given by Bos from a Greek commentary. The Vulgate, therefore, may have been made upon a manuscript which read thus; and in this supposition no objection exists to its having rendered this verse from the Greek. Secondly, it seems probable that originally the Latin read “*corpus*,” and not “*aures* ;” and then there would be no discrepancy between it and the pre-

^s The MSS. here quoted are thus described in the Prolegomena to the work :—“39. *Cordex Dorothei*, ii. *Membr. soc. ix.*—142. *Bib. Aulier Vindob. Theol. x.* ; *membr. pervet. optimæ notæ.*—156. *Bib. Basil. membr. 4 adm. antiq. sine accent. cum vers. lat. interlin.*—292. *Cod. Bib. Medic. num. iii. Plut. vi. opt. notæ membran. in fol. sæc. xi.*”

sent Greek text. The Mosarabic and Roman Psalters have it, as well as St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, St. Ambrose, and St. Hilary.^b The Veronese Psalter, published by Bianchini, presents the same reading.¹ The use of the verb “*perfecisti*” leaves little room to doubt that this was the original reading. The substantive and the verb agree perfectly; when, at a later period, the former was changed, the latter was allowed to remain, and did not suit so well.

The moment this difficulty is removed, and no doubt consequently remains that the verse is translated from the Septuagint, it is plain that “*perfecisti*” corresponds to *κατηρτισω*. Now, this verb means sometimes in Scripture, “to complete, to perfect;” as, for example, 1 Thess. iii. 10, where the Vulgate translates it “ut compleam;” and, therefore, no doubt, “*perficio*” is here used in this sense. The old Douay version has correctly “eares thou hast perfited to me,” which was subsequently altered into its present reading. If this change was made in deference to the original Hebrew, a principle of translation was violated; for the Greek should have been consulted, and the Vulgate should not have been here abandoned for the Hebrew, any more than in a thousand other places where they differ.

VII. We will now notice a case, which shows how the incautious insertion of the smallest monosyllable may totally alter the sense. It is the well-known

^b Ap. Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Versiones Antiquæ*, 1743.

¹ *Psalter. duplex cum Canticis*, p. 63. Published in his *Vindiciæ Canoniarum Scripturarum Vulgatæ Latinæ* editionis. Rome, 1740. In a note on this passage, he adds, “*Favet utrique lectioni versio Arabica.*” This is a mistake, which, however, does not surprise us, as most that has been written on the Arabic version of the Psalms is very inaccurate. This, however, is not the place to prove this point, and substitute more exact observations.

passage, Jo. ii. 4, "Quid mihi et tibi mulier?" The old Rhemish editors of 1582 scrupulously rendered word for word, not without a sacrifice of clearness and propriety, "*What is to me and to thee woman?*" In a note they explain their motives, grounded on the ambiguous character of the phrase, which they did not think it proper more definitely to express. In the correction by Dr. Challoner, this ambiguity was preserved; and, indeed, it yet remains in many modern editions. Some, however, as that of Edinburgh, 1792, have slipped in "*it*," and read, "What is *it* to me and to thee?" But there can be no doubt that this translation is erroneous, and that for many reasons.

First, this form of expression, which occurs in our text, is very common in the Old Testament, and always means that there is no connexion between the persons thus mentioned. It may be sufficient to consult the passages below in the margin.*

Secondly, it occurs very frequently in the classics, Greek and Latin, and bears invariably the same meaning. Thus Anacreon:—

τί γὰρ μάχαισι κἄμοι.
* * *

τί Πλειάδεσσι κἄμοι.¹

Aulus Gellius quotes from Epictetus (lib. ii.) τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ἄνθρωπε; ἀρκεῖ ἐμοὶ τὰ ἐμὰ κακὰ.^m Quintus Curtius has, in like manner, "Quid nobis tecum est;"ⁿ and Ovid,—

"Quid mihi cum Siculis, inter Scythiamque Getasque?"^o

* Jos. xxii. 24; Jud. xi. 12; 2 Sam. xvi. 10; 1 Reg. xvii. 18; 2 Reg. iii. 13; Mic. ii. 2. Cf. Glassius, *Philologia Sacra*. Leips. 1776, tom. i. p. 491.

¹ Ode xvii. 264, 276.

^m *Noctes Atticæ*, ed. Gronov. lib. i. c. ii. p. 37.

ⁿ Lib. viii. c. viii. § 16.

^o *Trist.* lib. iii. eleg. xi. 54.

Martial writes thus : “ Martialis Deciano suo S. Quid nobis inquis cum epistola ? parumne tibi præstamus si legimus epigrammata ? ”^p We could add examples from Oriental writers. But what is most to be noted is, that the classics often fill up the ellipsis, by adding an adjective or substantive. Thus Philostratus, *Σοὶ δὲ τί καὶ Προτεσίλεω κοινόν* ;^q Propertius uses the word “ gratia.”

“ Cum Tiberi Nilo gratia nulla fuit.”^r

And Claudian, “ ratio.”

“ Quæ tibi cum pedibus ratio ? quid carmina culpas ?
Scandere qui nescis, versiculos laceras.”^s

The Persians, as for instance Firdausi, use the substantive *ك Kar*, “negotium.”

Thirdly, in the New Testament, the phrase occurs several times besides this place, and manifestly has the same meaning. We will at present only notice the message to Pilate from his wife, Matt. xxvii. 19 : “ Have thou nothing to do with that just man ; ” in the Vulgate, “ Nihil tibi et justo huic.” What confirms this interpretation is, that whenever a thing is said not to concern a person, the preposition is used with the accusative. Thus, when Judas restores the price of his treason, saying that he had betrayed innocent blood, he is answered, *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς ; σὺ ὄψει* —“ Quid *ad nos* ? tu videris.” (Ib. 4.) And when Peter eagerly inquires about John, our Saviour says to him, *Τί πρὸς σε ;* —“ Quid *ad te* ? ” “ What is it to

^p Introd. to lib. ii. Epig.

^q Philost. Her. p. 8, ed. Boiss. In like manner, Schiller, Jungfrau von Orleans, act v. scene v. has—

“ Nicht kann *gemein* seyn
Zwischen dir und mir.”

^r Lib. ii. eleg. xxxiii. 20.

^s Epigr. xxviii. In Podagr.

^t John xx. 22.

thee?" Precisely as in the classics; for instance, **Martial**,—

"Sobrius siccus est Aper : quid *ad me* ?"^a

These considerations are sufficient to prove, that the accurate rendering of these words is the same as is given in Matt. xxvii. 19, "What have I to do with thee?" And we prefer this to the one given in the new version which heads our article; "What hast thou to do with me?" Because this seems to make the answer signify, "Why dost thou interfere with me?" a signification which the phrase does not generally bear; for it simply expresses the absence or denial of communication between the parties.

The insertion, therefore, of the pronoun "it" destroys this sense completely, and determines the text in favour of a signification manifestly inaccurate.*

The philological discussion of this text ought naturally to end here. But an objection to the interpretation we have preferred will certainly start up in the mind of the pious reader. Is not the expression unaccountably harsh? Can we suppose our Blessed Saviour to have addressed his holy and dear mother in terms that disowned her, and denied all connection between them? Nay, we should feel but little satisfaction ourselves in this discussion, did we feel, at its close, that we had by it derogated aught from her honour, whom, from infancy, we have been taught especially to reverence; or that we had successfully striven to establish an interpretation which apparently favoured the cavils of our religious adversaries. For we are aware how

^a Lib. xii. epig. 30.

* However, Prof. Scholz, in his version of the Gospels (Frankf. 1829), has retained this meaning: "Weib, was kümmert das mich und dich?" That of Augusti and De Wette (Heidelb. 1814) has "Weib, was habe ich mit dir zu beschaffen?"

this translation has been considered by some as discountenancing our Catholic feelings towards God's mother, by proving that her own son treated her with little respect. Such, for instance, is the view presented by a certain Mr. Ford Vance, a chosen preacher against our doctrines, who having quoted the Protestant version, thus observes :—"The Roman Catholics say that this is a wrong translation of the passage, and that it should be rendered, 'Woman, what is that to you and to me?'" And in reply he appeals to Matt. viii. 29.[†] Our preceding remarks will be sufficient to show that we have no wish whatever to assert any such thing. But we deny all the consequences which he and others would draw from their version, and assert that the most timid Catholic need fear nothing in adopting it.

It is easy to prove, that the expression in question might be, and often was, used in the most respectful and even affectionate manner; and as some of our examples, at least, have not been before quoted, we will enter more fully into the matter. We have a stronger motive for so doing, that even writers not engaged on controversy have expressed themselves differently from what we deem the truth. Thus Lambert Bos describes the phrase in general, as one "*qua molestia et contemptus innuitur.*"[‡]

In the New Testament it certainly is used respectfully by Pilate's wife, when she calls Jesus "that just man." Nor, we think, can it be doubted, that the expostulation of the evil spirits, to which Mr. Vance refers, has the same character. For they give him his most glorious title, saying, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, son of God?" and then they make a sup-

[†] *Sermons on the Invocation of Angels and Saints.* Sermon. ii. p. 40.

[‡] *Ellipses Græcæ*, ed. Schäffer, 1808, p. 227.

plicating request to be allowed to enter into the swine ; which is granted them. In the Old Testament, the phrase is used in the same manner. For instance, there surely was neither “annoyance nor contempt” intended in those words whereby the widow obtained from the prophet the resurrection of her son :—“What have I to do with thee, thou man of God ? Art thou come to call my sins to remembrance, and to slay my son ?”^a There is an expression, similar in signification, which is manifestly used with similar feelings. We allude to Luke v. 8, where Peter, falling on his knees before Jesus, says to him, “*Depart from me*, for I am a sinful man, O Lord !” It is exceeding respect which, in these two cases, suggests expressions, at first sight indicative of a wish to have no communication with the person addressed.

Among profane writers the same use of the phrase may be easily proved. When the banished poet addresses his writings in these words,—

“ Quid mihi vobiscum est, infelix cura, libelli,
Ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo ? ”^b

there is certainly expressed a feeling of affection and attachment to his unfortunate productions. The most respectful use of the expression is made in the East. In the account of a “good monitor,” published by Kosegarten, we are told, how, upon a message being brought him that the caliph wished to see him, he replied, *ما لي ولأمير المؤمنين* “What have I to do with the prince of the faithful ?”^c This was certainly not said with any intention of slighting that personage, whose call he obeyed ; for his conduct is described with a desire to commend, and to propose it as an example.

^a 1 Reg. xvii. 18.

^b Trist. lib. ii. eleg. i. 1.

^c Chrestom. Arab. Lips. 1828, p. 36.

But we will quote another instance, which, we flatter ourselves, will leave no room to doubt that this expression could be used in the most affectionate manner. The emperor Marcus Aurelius closes one of his letters to his beloved preceptor, Fronto, in these words:—"Valebis mihi Fronto, ubi ubi es, mellitissime, meus amor, mea voluptas. *Quid mihi tecum est? amo absentem.*"^d

These examples are more than sufficient to prove, that our Saviour could use the phrase as we have interpreted it, without incurring the imputation of undutifulness, which some writers, in their zeal against Catholics, seem almost eager to cast upon him. It may have been spoken in the most respectful and affectionate manner; and, as commentators have remarked, our Blessed Lady did not view it in the light of a refusal or a check; for after it, she felt sure that her prayer was granted, and gave directions for the working of the miracle.

VIII. The length to which we have been carried by several of our examples, obliges us to suppress many others on which we would willingly have dilated. We must, however, for the present omit them, and will briefly advert to one only. This is Heb. xi. 1, where the Latin word, "substantia," is rendered "substance." "Faith is the *substance* of things to be hoped for." This rendering leads the reader to a wrong conclusion; as faith may be the indication, or demonstration, but certainly not the substance, of what we hope for. The Rheims translators say, that the Latin word here bore the meaning of its corresponding Greek, *ὑποστάντις*, "groundwork," or "foundation;" and though, with their usual caution, they retained the very word "substance," they added a

^d M. C. Frontonis et M. Aurelii Epist. Romæ, 1823, p. 105.

marginal note to this effect: "By this word substance is meant, that faith is the ground of our hope." The note has disappeared, but the word which they knew to be unintelligible without it, has been retained. The Anglican version has the same word, but likewise adds an explanatory marginal note. A reference to the original Greek could alone guide the translator of the Vulgate; because the Latin word could never have been supposed to have this meaning, except as equivalent to that Greek term.

It may be necessary even sometimes to consult St. Jerome's commentary, to ascertain the exact sense in which he used words or phrases. For example:—"Butyrum et mel comedet, *ut* sciat reprobare malum et eligere bonum."^e From his commentary on this passage, it is evident that he used the particle *ut* in the sense of *quamvis*, as Ovid does,

"Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas."^f

The sense would be, that the Messiah should eat the common food of infants, although he, in truth, possessed discretion and knowledge.

These examples are, we trust, sufficient to elucidate our views regarding a complete and authorized revision of our English Catholic version. Much we have to say respecting the prefaces and notes, the indices and titles, which should accompany any such authorized edition. On these matters it will be time enough to express our sentiments when we shall perceive that the hints here thrown out have been esteemed worthy of notice; and that attention is turned to the necessity or propriety of providing us with a standard edition, no longer subject to alteration from the caprice or ignorance of individuals. The new version

^e Isa. viii. 15.

^f De Ponto, lib. iii. ep. iv. 19.

which has led to the remarks we have made in this paper, cannot, as we have already observed, supersede the necessity of such a revision. With several of its verbal changes we are certainly pleased ; but there are others of which we cannot bring ourselves to approve. The change of "Christ" into "Messiah," and "gospel" into "good tidings," seems unnecessary, and likely to startle ordinary readers. For the rejected words have long become part of the language.

Throughout the notes and preface there is a drift which cannot be overlooked, and which has our cordial approbation ; it is to place the gospels in their proper light, not as narratives intended to form a complete digest of our Saviour's life, but as "occasional pieces," so to speak, suggested by particular circumstances, and primarily directed to readers possessing different qualifications from ours, who could understand much that to us must be obscure. The impression on the reader's mind, after having perused this edition, must be, that Christianity never depended, for its code or evidences, upon the compilation of these documents, and that they never could have been intended for a rule of faith. Considering the work in this light, we have an additional pleasure in bearing witness to the learning, diligence, and acuteness of its author.

THE
PARABLES
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Sept., 1849.

THE
PARABLES
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT,
AS ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

The Four Gospels, translated from the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the original Greek Text, being a Revision of the Rhenish Translation, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By F. P. KENRICK, Bishop of Philadelphia. 8vo. New York, 1849.

ANY work from the pen of Bishop Kenrick must be received with interest and with respect, by every Catholic who speaks the English language. His varied and extensive learning, his great researches, his distinguished abilities, and his sound orthodoxy, combined with his high position in the Church, must give weight to all that he publishes. The work before us is another proof of his lordship's zeal, and another monument of his learning; and as such we sincerely welcome it. The object of this new version, with its commentary, appears to be twofold. First, it is intended to vindicate the Catholic Vulgate, and show its superiority to the Anglican version; secondly, it is directed, both by modifications of the ordinary Catholic translation, and by short notes, to remove difficulties, and facilitate the reading of the gospels. It is by no means a controversial work; the annotations do not undertake to meet those misrepresentations which

result from erroneous doctrine; and on the whole, they will be probably much valued and read by Protestants, as well as Catholics.

The work acquires, in our minds, an additional importance from another consideration. It is the first attempt to bring before the notice of ordinary Catholic readers, the critical study of the text. It is an undoubted fact, that all modern judicious critics will give great weight, and even preference, to the Vulgate, or Latin version, beyond the ordinary Greek text, where the two differ. The reason is simple. On these occasions, the oldest and best manuscripts, and the most ancient versions, almost invariably agree with the Vulgate; and their concurrent testimony establishes the fact, that the Vulgate represents manuscripts more accurate than have been used to form the received Greek text. When we consider the scorn cast by the reformers upon the Vulgate, and their recurrence, in consequence, to the Greek, as the only accurate standard, we cannot but rejoice at the silent triumph which truth has at length gained over clamorous error. For, in fact, the principal writers who have avenged the Vulgate, and obtained for it its critical pre-eminence, are Protestants. But though such a judgment has long been passed by the learned, the great bulk of readers, including men of education, no doubt fancy as yet, that the Greek must always have the preference; and even Catholics may not be free from this opinion. Now Bishop Kenrick has taken the simplest mode of removing it. He shows, in few words, that where the Anglican version agrees with the Greek, but differs from the Latin, the best modern Protestant critics give the preference to the latter.

We have no doubt that this exposure will do much good. At the same time it suggests to us the fear,

and shall we add, the shame, that we are not altogether prepared for these critical remarks. We do not believe that Catholics are worse off than their neighbours, who profess to draw all their faith from Scripture. But as it is not our place to think for these, we naturally confine our remarks to our own body; and we regret to say, that we have not an English Catholic elementary book of biblical introduction. Little or no study is made in our schools of the preliminary matter requisite for reading the Bible, although we are sure that the subject could be made as interesting as it is important. Upon this topic we would willingly dilate, did we not view it in connection with deeper considerations, and a wider range of defects than we can at present dwell on. But whoever has paid attention to biblical critical studies, and knows the niceties of the questions in which they get involved, and has tried to unravel the perplexities of *recensions*, and their theories, and has experienced how difficult it is to fix the date of a manuscript or a version, or to weigh conflicting evidence about any text, will fear, we think, with us, that very few indeed of such readers as Dr. Kenrick will secure, will be able to appreciate the critical portion of his notes, or to understand their drift. Nor can we hope that the very brief "Explanations" at the beginning of the volume, containing necessarily so many hard names, and allusions to matters with which ordinary readers are not familiar, will very effectually assist them. If Dr. Kenrick, or any other sound theological scholar, who could sift the chaff from the wheat in modern scriptural writers, would supply the want to which we have alluded, he would confer a lasting advantage on our body.

The second object proposed in the learned bishop's notes is, we think, of greater practical utility: and we

do not hesitate to say that many readers will derive great benefit from their perusal. They will find many terms and phrases explained, which they have possibly often read without attaching any very definite idea to them ; they will see apparent discrepancies very simply reconciled, and obscure passages briefly, but ably, illustrated. This book will, in many cases, dispense with the necessity of consulting larger commentaries.

And again, on this subject, we will express a hope, that this work will lead to others in scriptural learning, and those not merely introductory, but deep, earnest, and solid. For we are fully convinced that the field belongs exclusively to Catholics, and that they alone can properly occupy it. After all the boasted researches of the moderns, what has been done ? What are the commentaries of Kuinöel, Rosenmüller, Campbell, or Bloomfield ? Sapless, heartless, devotionless, merely critical and philological notes, which help one not a step to taste and relish the sweetness of the divine narrative, or to learn its true lessons. There is in them neither breadth of view nor depth of penetration ; they walk you over the surface, and, if anything, deaden the perception of those inner and hidden treasures, those rich mines, which lie beneath the letter. And this must be the case with all Protestant Scripture learning. The tender mysteries of our Saviour's nativity and holy childhood, associated at every moment with His Blessed Mother ; His kindness towards sinners, and His familiarity with the poor ; the sorrowful scenes of His passion, in their details, as meditated upon by Catholic Saints ;^a all

^a A curious inquiry to pursue, but not here, would be the following :—How far has the rejection and condemnation, by Protestantism, of pictures and sculptures, conduced to the suppression of meditation, which is a mental representation ? We believe much. To take one

these it is impossible for a Protestant mind to view or dwell on, with the intensity and affectionateness that a Catholic heart requires. Then what can a Protestant do with the evangelical counsels, poverty and chastity, and renouncing of all possessions ; with the apostles, sent without scrip or staff to preach to heathens ; with celibacy and virginity ; with fasting and watching ; with the forgiveness of sins, and the eating of Christ's Body ; with miracles and wonders to be wrought in the Church ? He must try to show that some of these things are figurative, and that others only applied to the apostolic times ; and that, in fact, they are nothing to us. Only the Catholic can fully and lovingly enter into the heart of God's word, and feel its whole truth and perfect reality. The others must be ever reasoning, while we are content to receive impressions.

We feel, therefore, deeply convinced, that if we would only take full possession of Scripture, and place it before those who love, or affect to love, it, in its true and Catholic light, and draw from it its practical, yet most moving, lessons, in the Catholic spirit, we should easily convince our adversaries that ours is the only religion of Scripture, and our inheritance its interpretation. But perhaps we shall best explain our meaning, by endeavouring to exemplify what we have said. Let us take, for instance, one characteristic point of our Saviour's teaching, and endeavour to develop in it, and through it, the principle which we have laid down :—that it requires a Catholic view of it to do it full justice, while yet this does not exclude those modes of illustration which may be deemed the common property of every scholar, though they require instance—could a person who has never seen a crucifix possibly realize to his mind the crucifixion ?

the chastening hand of orthodox religion safely to apply them.

Were any one asked, what is the peculiar feature of our Saviour's teaching, as preserved for us in the Gospels, he would naturally answer, that it consists in His constant use of parables and similitudes. The answer would, no doubt, be correct, so far as comparison with other known methods of instruction can lead us. Not only the Fathers, and later teachers in the Church, pursue a system that may seem the very opposite, but even the Apostles, who naturally imbibed the Spirit of their holy Master, and sought to be like Him, disclose no traces of this mode of delivering doctrine. Nor can this be the result of want of genius, or of imagination, or of any other faculty. For they wrote under the influence of Divine inspiration, and the Holy Spirit who breathed in, and through, them, and who guided their pens, could have suggested to them parables and illustrations, as easily as simple dogmatic instruction. If He did not so, if in this respect they were guided to depart from the model of their Lord and Teacher, there must have been reasons why that mode should remain sacredly His, and not be considered suitable to them. Again, this could not be because the apostles had to address, in their writings, a different class of disciples. Several of their epistles are directed to the same Jewish people, whether still living in their own country, or dispersed in distant lands. In every respect these compositions bear the Jewish stamp, in style, in reasoning, in quotations, in allusions, in illustration, in figures of speech, in cast of thought. The strongest internal evidence of their genuineness results from this decisive mark of origin, combined with the novelty of their doctrine, and their connection with the gospel system. If, therefore, our Saviour

chose the mode of instruction by parables to gratify a Jewish taste, or to gain the Jewish mind, we might naturally expect, that after His justification of such a course, it would have been pursued by His first followers. And if we say, on the other hand, that the apostles wrote rather for the Church in aftertimes, we shall surely belie our best thoughts and feelings, if we do not consider that every word which our blessed Lord spoke, was as completely addressed to His spouse, as to any unbelieving Jew.

We cannot be surprised that this peculiar choice, by our Redeemer, of His method of instruction, should have engaged the attention of religious minds, and of ecclesiastical writers. Good and solid reasons have been given for His preference; the beauties of His different parables have been unfolded by many an eloquent pen; and the lessons which each contains have been expounded, illustrated, and inculcated, with an almost endless variety of explanation. Each may be likened to a simple theme in music, upon which many composers will elaborate many variations; through all which the original strain will be heard, though one may seem to droop in mournful key, and languid measure, and another to sparkle in all the brilliancy of the wildest caprice. Every parable has been preached upon, commented upon, meditated on, written on; chapters, essays, volumes almost, have been devoted to several of them; their literal, their allegorical, their spiritual, their doctrinal, their ascetic sense has been fully drawn out, sometimes into a very wire of attenuated detail, sometimes into beautiful "chains of gold inlaid with silver,"^b the chaste delicacy of the commentary enhancing the rich brilliancy of the text. In so well-reaped a field, what can *we* hope to glean?

^b Cant. i. 10.

Can we, for a moment, flatter ourselves, that we can add another thought, or even another fancy, to the luxuriance of past illustrators; or that we can throw any additional light upon the method itself of parabolic teaching, after all that has been written concerning it?

We would not put such questions into our reader's thoughts, did we feel ourselves compelled to answer them directly; were it necessary either to give a presumptuous affirmative reply, and so forfeit his confidence; or, at once, by a self-condemning negative, cut off our right to pen another line on the subject. We will do neither; but will rather trust ourselves to his indulgence and generosity, to take it for granted that we would not willingly waste the pages of our Review, nor trifle with his patience; and that, therefore, if merely taking our suggestion from the volume before us, we venture to lead him on so beaten a road, it is not without the hope, that we may draw his attention to something which he may have passed by before. There is no great merit in this. It may be that we have travelled it over more frequently than he, because our business and duty led us regularly that way; it may be that we have had more leisure than he in going along it, and so have sauntered, and loitered, and looked about us more; it may be that we have walked on it in the company of those wiser than ourselves, who, in oriental phrase, may have dropped the pearls of their sage words upon it, and we may remember where, and pick them up as we go on; or it may be that we have held in our hands, as we journeyed, some quaint old volumes, that collected its histories, its traditions, its associations, and hidden sources of interest. If so, there can be but small pretension in embodying the results of such slender and

such pleasant industry, and offering them to others. And having got thus far, let us conclude these introductory remarks, by boldly stating, that we think there are some views of this method of teaching, which have not received their full elucidation, and which yet present a strong attraction; that the system, both in its principles and in its details, bears powerfully upon the evidences, both of Christianity in general, and of Catholicity more particularly; and that, moreover, many of the aids to appreciating the full beauty of our Lord's method of instruction, are locked up in works too much out of ordinary readers' way to be familiar to them, or are derived from sources not likely to reach them; which yet are not sufficiently brought forward, as they might be, to enhance the interest, or deepen the impressions, of these sacred lessons.

If we take any portion of our Saviour's discourses in the three first Gospels, we are struck at once with the richness of its texture. It is like a beautiful piece of tessellated work, composed of rich designs of imagery, each of which is beautiful in itself, but runs into the next, while, perhaps, in the midst, to continue our image, comes a fuller and more finished picture, set as in a rich border. There is hardly a sentence that descends to what we should call prose; every thought is conveyed in a sententious, proverbial, and easily-remembered form; or it is a beautiful and perfect simile, or comparison with natural objects, or ordinary usages, such as conveys the lesson familiarly, and gives it a hold on the mind and memory; or it is a more formal and complete allegory, corresponding point by point with a more solemn lesson. Now, to every one of these forms of speech, the term PARABLE is applied. For we may observe that the terms *proverb*

and *parable* are almost convertible in Scripture language. In the three first Gospels, the figurative instructions of our Lord are called *Παραβολη*: in St. John this word does not occur once; but the word *Παροιμια* is always used instead.^c It is true the latter means a similitude as well as the former; but it is the title given by the Septuagint, to what we call the *Proverbs* of Solomon; and these again are called in the text *Παραβολαι*,^d though they exactly correspond to what we should call proverbs. Besides the philological reasons for this commutation of terms^e we may assign a very natural one. It is, that what we call a *proverb*, a similitude, and a *parable*, are only more or less condensed forms of the same species of speech. A proverb or sententious saying, containing in it deep meaning and practical truth, may be easily considered as the moral of a fable or parable, and its frequently figurative form would very often give, at once, the clue to such an illustration. This building of stories upon proverbs has been so often done, that it would be almost childish to dwell upon it. Franklin's story

^c We may likewise here remark, that *only* in St. Luke is the word *παραβολη* rendered by *similitudo* in the Vulgate, seven or eight times. In St. Matthew and St. Mark this is never found.

^d Prov. i. 1; xxv. 1.

^e The Hebrew word whereby the Proverbs of Solomon are called, מָשָׁל *mashal*, corresponds to the Arabic مَثَل *methel*, *like*. It is curious to observe what an influence on all modern European languages the corresponding word in Latin has exercised. From *fabula*, a *fable*, comes *fabulari*, to converse; hence the old Spanish *fablar* (now, by an ordinary conversion, *hablar*), Portuguese *fallar*, Italian *parlare*, French *parler*, and hence our *parlour* and our *parliament*! This proves that wherever the Latin language was vernacular, the ordinary word in conversation for *to speak* was this. And hence we may trace back to the oldest period of the language, the familiar use of apologues and fictitious narratives. In fact, Livy calls Memmius's apologue on the Mons Sacer, the *priscum et horridum dicendi genus*.

of "paying dear for one's whistle," will suffice as an instance. Again, to return to our subject, when our Lord thus addresses His fellow-townsmen :—"Doubtless you will say to me this similitude (*παραβολήν*) : Physician, heal thyself."^f It is plain that this expression corresponds exactly to what we should call a proverb, yet who does not see in it, at once, a full parable, which scarcely requires development? A physician loudly proclaims his skill in curing every, or some particular, complaint : a patient sends for him, and sees at once that he is as sick as himself, and that his boasted method of cure has not answered in his own case. He very naturally rejects him as an empiric, and bids him first cure himself with his nostrums, before he tries them on others. "Physician," he exclaims, "heal thyself." It matters not whether the phrase arose out of an apologue, or leads to it; whether it be the fruit or the seed, is all one.

If, therefore, among the Jews, a proverb, a similitude, and a parable, were considered as but different degrees of the same form of expression, and if our Lord's discourses were almost entirely made up of the three, we can easily see how literally those words of the sacred text meant to apply,—“all these things Jesus spoke in parables to the multitude, and without parables He did not speak to them.”^g

It is manifest that a marked difference may be expected, as to novelty, between those shorter proverbial phrases, and those poetical comparisons by which our Saviour conveys simpler moral and dogmatic truths, and those longer parables which contain in them a complete system of doctrines. No one, however wise, when conversing with ordinary men, will always employ original phrases, nor even deliver

^f Luke iv. 23.

^g Matt. xiii. 34.

original ideas. He must be understood, and, to keep up the interest of an audience, say many things which have been said before. Proverbs, which carry in them the thoughts and experience of the good and the wise, have become a public property; they will be used by the very best and wisest; but they will be used aptly, happily, more strikingly than by others; and what is still more important, they will receive fresh strength and higher meaning, and be made to contain some new and great truth. In examining the shorter parables of our blessed Lord, there is danger of two extremes; of considering everything as new, and so rejecting all illustration from other sources, on the one hand, and of trusting too much to the light which these may throw upon them, on the other. The latter was the crime of that wretched school of biblical literature which rose in Germany in the course of the last century; was matured to avowed rationalism in this; not so much poisoned, as withered up, the last fibres of faith which Protestantism yet held by; tainted this country with a venom which has not yet fully developed; and then seems to have gone out, like a noxious vapour, kindled for a time by an infernal flame. In its insidious beginnings, this was one of its worst deceits: that overlooking or rejecting ecclesiastical teaching and tradition, it sought, with perverted erudition, for all its illustrations of God's word out of it, and of the natural channel of interpretation. But, on the other hand, to reject totally the aid of such secondary sources of illustration, is, in truth, not merely to reject such light as they can cast on the sacred text, but to exclude what helps much to raise the character of our Lord Himself to its true dignity. Let us examine a few instances.

Our Saviour makes use of a most appropriate illus-

tration in the following passage :—“ How sayest thou to thy brother : let me cast the mote out of thine eye, and behold a beam in thine own eye ? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see to cast the mote out of thy brother’s eye ? ”^b Now we can hardly doubt that this was a proverbial expression among the Jews, for we find it quoted as such in the Rabbins, but with a very different effect. “ It is written, that in the time of the judges, that if any one said, ‘ Cast out the mote (stalk) from thy eye ; ’ the other would answer, ‘ Cast out the beam from thine. ’ ”^c “ Rabbi Tarphon said,— ‘ I wonder if in this age there be any one who will receive correction ; for if any one says to another, Cast out the mote from thine eye, he would answer him, Cast the beam out of thine. ’ ”^d Similar passages occur elsewhere. As here used, the expression was clearly one of retort, and he who used it is evidently blamed. The haughty Pharisee, the unbelieving Sadducee, the scandalous priest, was no doubt generally the reprover of others’ failings (for *they* were not “ as the rest of men ”), and to them was the retort frequently and justly addressed. Now our Lord exactly takes part with those who make it, but He goes further still, and takes it in God’s name, and brands with the terrible name of “ hypocrite,” him who dares to incur the injustice of correcting others, while he is guilty of even greater sins. His treatment of the accusers of the woman taken in adultery,¹ is the best illustration of this meaning. But Christ’s application of the familiar proverb rises higher ; it goes to teach, what Jewish doctor never thought of, mutual forbearance, gentleness in dealing with others’ defects,

^b Matt. vii. 4, 5.

¹ Bava Bathra, f. x. 2.

^c Erachin, f. xvi. 2.

^d John viii.

strict scrutiny into our own failings rather than into theirs, and self-correction before we undertake the delicate office of directing others. And thus, as in that same Sermon on the Mount, He took the texts of the old law, and amended them for the new, in all that regarded charity, so did He no less those familiar and additional phrases, current among the teachers of the people.

Let us take another example, which has given rise to much strange discussion :—"It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven."^m Even in ancient times, as appears, from marginal notes on manuscripts, there was a disposition to modify the apparent harshness of this text. A camel passing through the eye of a needle seemed almost incongruous ; and hence by changing *κάμηλος* into *κάμιλος*, a "camel" into a "cable," a more natural connection was sought to be given between the two terms employed : "a cable passing through the eye of a needle." Drusius warmly espoused this reading ;ⁿ and others followed him. But no sensible commentator would now adopt so useless an attempt at emendation. There can be little doubt that the expression was a proverbial one, to imply an impossibility. For with the exception of the animal mentioned, we find the same proverb in use in central and eastern Asia. In those countries the largest beast of burthen was the elephant, and the image in the comparison was naturally drawn from it. In the *Bava Metsia*, one of the Talmudic treatises, a person thus addresses another who dealt in wonders : "Perhaps you are from the city of Pumbeditha, where they make an elephant pass

^m Matt. xix. 24.

ⁿ *In loc.* and in his treatise on Heb. Proverbs, in Crit. Sac. tom. v.

through the eye of a needle.”^o And in another work it is written : “ They do not show a golden palm, nor an elephant going through the eye of a needle.”^p Dr. Frank has given a similar proverb as Indian : “ As if an elephant were to try to pass through a small opening.”^q What the elephant was to the oriental Asiatic, the camel was to the western : the proverb would naturally present this substitution of animals, yet be substantially the same. Hence the Arabs have the proverb, with the camel, as in the gospel.^r But what an awful severity, what a definitely acute edge, does not this vague and general expression, more of incredulity than of impossibility, receive, when applied, as by our Lord, to the difficulty, for the rich, of entering His kingdom. And how increased is the strength of the figure, by the appeal, which follows it, to God’s omnipotence, as the sole power that can reverse or modify the sentence. “ With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible,”^s and therefore this. So firmly welded and riveted have the two parts of the sentence become, in our Saviour’s mouth, that no power will ever again separate them ; it would be profane to reduce again to a general expression of difficulty, or human impossibility, that which has been definitely appropriated by Him, to declare the most terrible moral truth of His divine religion.

We can easily conceive how this familiarity with the proverbial forms of speech in use among the Rab-

^o Fol. xxxviii. 2.

^p Beracoth, fol. lv. 2.

^q 50th,—Continuation of the Accounts of the E. I. Missionaries. Halle, 1742.

^r It occurs in the Koran, Sur. vii. 38 :—“ They who charge our signs with falsehood, and reject them, the gates of heaven shall be closed against them, and they shall not enter Paradise till a camel pass through the eye of a needle.”

^s Matt. xix. 26.

bins and learned men of His nation, this apt and elegant use of their favourite expressions, and this power giving them new and peculiar beauties, gained Him at once the respect and confidence of the people; associated Him, of right, with their admitted teachers; shut the jealous mouths of these men; and delighted and charmed all; till they would remain whole days, regardless of food, in His society. Hence, even in that very place where He was no prophet, the people "all gave testimony to Him: and they wondered at the words of grace that proceeded from His mouth, and they said, Is not this the son of Joseph?"¹ But what doubtless added still further to enhance the beauty and gracefulness of His discourse, was the readiness with which His illustrations and comparisons seemed to spring from the objects around, or from the most homely subjects. How important this consideration is, when we study our Saviour's more formal parables, we shall see later: but in the shorter images,—the *fabellæ breviores*, as Quintilian calls them, this obvious facility of taking them up must have rendered them much more striking and interesting. The whitening corn-fields suggest the thought of the spiritual harvest ripe for the sickle;² the fig-tree putting forth its fruit furnishes a lesson on the coming of God's kingdom. "See the fig-tree, and all the trees, when they *now* shoot forth their fruit."³ When discoursing on the mount, how happily the birds flitting about furnish a beautiful image: "*Behold* the birds of the air:" and the lilies which spring up, as travellers inform us, on that very ground, give rise to that still more graceful similitude, "*Consider* the lilies of the field how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not

¹ Luke iv. 22.² John iv. 35.³ Luke xxi. 29.

arrayed as one of these.”⁷ Then every action and operation of the household, and of ordinary life—the grinding at the mill;⁸ the leavening of the dough;⁹ the good housewife’s hoard;¹⁰ the governing of the house;¹¹ the cultivation of the vineyard, from its planting¹² to its yielding fruit;¹³ the tillage of the field¹⁴ and of the garden;¹⁵ the pastoral life in its smallest details,¹⁶—each furnishes Him with most appropriate imagery, and most pertinent illustration. At the same time even the more refined and luxurious life of the higher classes is no less fertile in His hand; the management of the estate;¹⁷ the distribution of confidential duties to servants;¹⁸ the sumptuous feast;¹⁹ the

⁷ Matt. vi. 28, 29. Solomon is the Cræsus of oriental poetry. The prince of Persian poets, Hafez, has a similar figure :—

چو گل سوار شود بر هوا سلیمان وار

“When the rose rides on the air like Solomon.”

(Rosseau’s Flower of Pers. Liter. p. 165.) The rose is in Persian, what the lily is in Hebrew, poetry.

⁸ Matt. xxiv. 41.

⁹ Luke xiii. 21.

¹⁰ Luke xv. 8.

¹¹ Luke xii. 35.

¹² Matt. xx. 1; xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1; Luke xx. 9.

¹³ John xv. 1-6. “Every branch that beareth fruit, he (the husbandman) will purge it, that it may bring forth more fruit” (v. 2). This same figure is beautifully applied, almost in the same words, by the Persian poet Saadi :—

زکوة مال بدر کن که فضله رزرا
چو باغبان ببرد بیشتر دهد اعگور

“Distribute in alms the tithe of thy wealth; for the more the gardener cuts away the redundancy of the vine, the more fruit it gives.”—Gulistan, chap. ii. tale xlix.

¹⁴ Matt. xiii. 3, 24; Mark iv. 3, 26; Luke viii. 4.

¹⁵ Luke xiii. 6.

¹⁶ Matt. xviii. 12; Luke xv. 4; John x. 1.

¹⁷ Luke xvi. 1.

¹⁸ Matt. xxv. 1; Luke xix. 12.

¹⁹ Matt. xxii. 12; Luke xiv. 16. We are tempted to introduce another oriental illustration of an important feature of this parable.

bridal procession ;^m the processes of law ;ⁿ even political events of recent occurrence,^o serve for Him as groundwork of most expressive and beautiful lessons. And there is every reason to suppose, that even such detailed and pointed parables as that of the rich man and Lazarus had a basis of fact, and alluded to characters and incidents well known.

When we consider, in addition, that in almost every case these parables could not have been prepared, but were introduced in discourses arising from casual events, or were spoken in answer to sudden questions, we shall not be surprised at the delight which they gave His audience, and how they found His words truly full of elegance and grace. What we have said will

(v. 11.) The guests called in on a sudden are all found clothed in a wedding, or feasting, garment (for γάμος expresses the feast), corresponding to the Roman *cænatorium*. There is only one exception. As he is severely reprimanded and punished for not having one, and yet he and all his fellow-guests were poor, we must suppose that rich garments were given to them, and that gross neglect, or some worse fault, was imputable to the unrobed guest. Now Fakr-Eddin Razi informs us, how Jaffar, the son of Yaya, in the days of the great Egyptian khalif Haroun Al Rashid, used to have in his palace secret banquets, and that the guests all put on garments of various colours, red, yellow, or green, and the forbidden cup circulated freely among them. One day he had assembled in his apartments all his boon-companions, except one, whose name was Abd-el-melik, and he left orders with his porter to admit none but him. It happened, however, that there was at court another of that name, a man of austere morals, whom Jaffar had in vain endeavoured to draw to his jovial parties. He happened to come to speak on business, gave his name, and was admitted by the unsuspecting porter. The guests were surprised and confounded at his appearance : but he, without embarrassment, joined the party, and said, "Bring me also one of those rich garments ;" and only after he had been thus clothed, asked for a cup of wine.—Sacy's Chrestom. Arabe, pp. 35, 36 of text.

^m Matt. xxv. 1.

ⁿ Ib. v. 25.

^o Luke xix. 14.

enable us to explain the beautiful description which our Lord himself gives us of His own mode of teaching. After the remarkable series of parables in the thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew, in which the Church is symbolized as a field, a treasure, a pearl, and a net, our Saviour, having explained them to His disciples, thus addresses them :—"Have you understood all these things ? They say to Him, Yes. He said unto them, Therefore is every scribe [or Doctor] instructed in the kingdom of heaven, like unto a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure [that is, his store] new things and old." (vv. 51, 52.) Our Lord, having made use of different parables, some from common life, as the sowing of a field, or a draught of fishes, others from more extraordinary occurrences, such as the finding of a treasure, or of an invaluable pearl, asks His apostles if they understood all these illustrations. They answer Him affirmatively. *Therefore*, He replies, that is, because you find these different images so clear, you see herein the skill of the experienced religious teacher. He is like an economical householder, who has carefully stored up objects of every kind, some old, some new, and knows where always to find just the thing that he requires. So the good teacher, who has treasured up in his mind a rich collection of varied learning, will be ready always to cull out just what is wanted, old things or new : the old, by adapting to his doctrine ancient maxims, proverbs, and wise sayings, as well as historical events ; and the new, by seizing the occurrences of the moment, or objects that are present, and turning them to the profit of his scholars.

We have seen how admirably and how perfectly Christ did this. But His hearers not only found His

words full of grace, but they marked a difference between His teaching and that of their usual instructors, which they described in this phrase : that "He was teaching them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees."^p Besides the remarkable and most important meaning which we hope later to draw from these words, we may easily explain what the Jews meant, by reference to the corresponding teaching of the Pharisees and Scribes. For we may here assume, that their teaching is fairly represented to us by the lessons recorded in the Jewish writings, of the parables and sayings of the older Rabbins. We have not leisure or space to prove this ; but it would not be difficult. We could show that St. Jerome refers to, and even, in his version, follows traditional Jewish interpretations to be found in Talmudic writings ; and if any one desires to test this assertion within a very limited compass, we would refer him to his commentary on Osee. In like manner St. Ephrem has some peculiar comments which are manifestly traditional, agreeing most curiously with the Koran,^q which certainly drew its accounts from the Jews. And St. James of Edessa, quoting one of these histories, about Melchisedec, informs us that it came from Jewish traditions.^r St. James of Sarug does the same.^s If therefore we are justified in considering the Jewish histories, recorded in later writers, as traditions of far earlier periods, we shall be warranted in comparing the teaching of our Saviour with that there

^p Matt. vii. 29.

^q As that Jacob knew the story brought him by his sons, of Joseph's death, to be untrue (*in loc.*) ; which is asserted in the Koran. (Sur. *Jusuphu.*) Again, that the rocks struck by Moses produced twelve fountains (Op. tom. i. p. 263), which again is found in the Koran. (Sur. ii.)

^r Op. S. Ephrem. tom. i. p. 273.

^s Ib. p. 274.

recorded; and the result will be what the people describe, in the text just cited. The teaching of the Jewish doctors and expounders of the law was frivolous, trivial, and childish, and related to every manner of petty distinction and dispute, respecting the law, ceremonial and moral. We do not recollect a single instance in which a masterly grasp of great principles is exhibited, in which anything like a broad, generous, exalted view is taken of the whole law, or of a single precept. The character of this teaching could not possibly have been given in stronger and juster terms than it is by our Lord, when He reproaches them with measuring out their tithe of mint and cummin, and letting alone the weightier things of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith, straining out a gnat, and swallowing a camel.^t Compared with this, how healthy, vigorous, noble, and enlarged must the teaching of our Lord have justly appeared. There the spirit of the law had been clearly caught and defined, and the new and higher law that was engrafted on it, in the Sermon on the Mount, to which the Jews referred, was manifestly its rightful sequence, and natural maturing to perfection. And every illustration introduced, instead of serving to perplex, and bind still further, as in the Rabbinical teaching, simplified and explained His meaning most happily, and supported generous and exalted views of duty.

What we have written will guide us at least one step, towards answering the question with which we started :—Why did our Lord choose to teach in parables, and why did not the apostles ? Because it was necessary for Him to claim and secure the title of a Master in Israel, a public teacher ; and so to drive from the field the false teachers who held it, and who had

^t Matt. xxiii. 23, *seq.*

so thoroughly perverted the old law, that it was necessary to sweep away from it their corruptions, before the new could be fastened on it. This, which may be called the aggressive part of our Saviour's ministry, was not to be accomplished without great command, great vigour, and almost violence. And to it belong those strong and magnificent declamations, in which He thoroughly unmasks their hypocrisy, uncharitableness, and hidden vice. How was this work of power to succeed, save by Christ's showing Himself fully equal to those rivals in all which their dupes, and the whole people, considered wisdom, and even assert successfully superiority over them in their own modes of teaching? And effectually we see, that though not brought up in their schools, nor associated with any of their sects, nor holding familiarity with any of them, and consequently having a coalition of Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, priests, and doctors, arrayed against Him, though cordially hating each other, He obtained the title which they most coveted,^a that of Master,^x Teacher,^y and Rabbi.^z But though this was necessary for Him, it was not so for His followers. On the contrary, as they were to have "only one Master, Christ," they were forbidden to assume or to aspire to this title.^a

But in addition to the position thus required by our Lord, for founding the Christian religion on the groundwork of the former revelation, there is another reason why He must be considered almost compelled

^a Matt. xxiii. 7.

^x Matt. viii. 19; xii. 38; Luke ix. 38; xx. 21, 28, 39; John viii. 4, *et al. pass.*

^y Luke v. 5; viii. 24, 45, *et al. pass.* This word *ἐπιστάτης* is peculiar to St. Luke in the New Testament.

^z Matt. xxvi. 25, 49; Mark ix. 4; John i. 38; iii. 2, 26, *et al.*

^a Matt. xxiii. 8, 10.

to adopt the system of teaching by parables. This is, that it was associated throughout the East with the idea of wisdom. Solomon, the very type of wisdom, was the great parable, or proverb writer of the Jews.^b When the Queen of Saba came to him, it was expressly to try his wisdom by enigmas or riddles,^c which in those times were like parables.^d And the following is the description of a wise man:—"The wise man will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients . . . he will keep the sayings of renowned men, and will enter withal into the subtleties of parables. He will search out the hidden meanings of proverbs, and will be conversant in the secrets of parables."^e Jeremias celebrates the wisdom of the inhabitants of Theman, the capital of the Idumeans.^f And Baruch tells us in what that wisdom consisted, when he speaks of "the children of Agar also, that search after the wisdom that is of the earth, the merchants of Merrha and Theman, and *the tellers of fables, and searchers of prudence and understanding.*"^g We might add many examples more. But it was so throughout the East. The story of Œdipus proves it for Egypt. Æsop is the impersonation of that oriental wisdom, as it appeared in early Greece; and his fables may be traced through the Arabic of Lokman (surnamed as their writer, "the Wise") and the Persian of Bidpai (known more popularly as Pilpay), to the Hipotadesa of India; a genealogy as clear as that of our numerals through Araby to India. The Armenians fall into the chain

^b 3 Reg. iv. 32.

^c 3 Reg. x. 1. Menander and Dios, the historians of Tyre, whose fragments are preserved by Eusebius, inform us that the friendship of Solomon and Hiram was kept up by their sending one another enigmas to solve.

^d As Jud. xiv. 14.

^e Eccclus. xxxix. 1, 3.

^f Jer. xlix. 7.

^g Bar. iii. 23.

through the fables of Vartbran. The Gulistan, or Rose-garden of Saadi, one of the most beautiful oriental poems, to which we have referred in a former note, consists entirely of a classified series of short parables, or tales, sometimes containing only the saying of some sage; each followed by an often exquisite strophe, containing the moral, or application. And not to multiply instances, suffice it to say, that so much authority is granted to this form of teaching among Mussulmans, that the prohibition to drink wine, now so important a feature in their religious code, rests entirely, not on the Koran, but on the teaching of a parable in the Taalim, their second religious book. So long, then, as, in the country and age in which our Saviour lived, the idea of wisdom was so completely involved in that of teaching by similitudes and parables, and this not rashly, but in accordance with the definitions of the sacred writings, and the character of acknowledged sages, it became Him, so far to adapt Himself to these habitual and deep-rooted views, as to insure the deepest and most reverential attention, as a sage. Nay, it was absolutely necessary that He should cope with Solomon himself in his own peculiar form of wisdom, that so He might confidently and boldly tell the Jews, "Behold more than Solomon is here!"^h The meaning of these words is indeed very deep and solemn. For as the gift of wisdom to that king was given in terms that excluded rivalry from man,ⁱ to assert, so decidedly and so boldly, superiority to him, and that in One in whom humility was first shown to be a main part of wisdom, was equal to a

^h Luke xi. 31.

ⁱ I "have given thee a wise and understanding heart, in so much that there hath been no one like thee, before thee, *nor shall arise after thee.*"—3 Reg. iii. 12.

declaration of His superior, and Divine, nature. For no one but the Giver of wisdom to Solomon could possess more wisdom than he.

These motives for teaching in the manner which alone would commend itself to the Jews, and secure their esteem, will in part explain those awful passages, in which our Lord seems to intimate that He taught them in parables, on purpose that they might not understand.^k For we see that this necessity was one of their own making : and that the deafness and the blindness which followed from it, were the fruit of their obstinate adherence to so imperfect a method of teaching.

But the meaning of such passages will become perhaps more intelligible from our next consideration, which leads us into the main scope of our dissertation. If we accurately examine the whole system of teaching by parables adopted by our Lord, we shall see that it corresponds to prophecy in the Old Law ; that, in fact, in them is to be found the germ of the whole Christian system, as the history of Israel and Juda, and of Christ and His reign, is to be found in the prophets. As in the latter we have seldom anywhere one continued context on these subjects, but have to construct the web out of fragments and separate pieces, not without study and research ; so likewise in the parables we have a variety of apparently detached lessons, which, considered individually, give but partial results, but which, compared and joined together, throw marvellous light upon the whole theory of religion and the Church. In like manner, therefore, as the prophecies read or heard, when first uttered were generally most obscure, often unintelligible, and served even to irritate those who heard them,^l and even made them

^k Matt. xiii. 13, *seq.*

^l Jer. xxxvii. xxxviii.

harder than they were before ; so were the parables, which alluded to a system not yet fully established, necessarily unintelligible, except in so far as, like prophecies of imminent fulfilment, they alluded to the commencement of the system. And as that beginning involved the destruction of the existing state and its upholders, it naturally irritated, provoked, and through their obstinate perversity, even hardened, those unhappy men. At the same time it might happen, and it did happen, that a parable spoken in answer to a question, while beautifully pertinent, and sufficient for its present purpose, contained in it treasures of wisdom for the future Church, which could not possibly catch the eye of the first superficial observer. Let us illustrate our meaning by an example :—

In the thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew, there is a series of parables relating to the “ kingdom of heaven,” that is, the Church. These need not necessarily have been spoken all at the same time. The first of them, the parable of the sower, occurs in the three first gospels, and all the Evangelists remark, that it was addressed to a vast multitude.^m And in truth it may be well considered as the preliminary, or introductory, parable to the whole series of the parables. For it lays down the necessary dispositions for receiving, with profit, the words of Christ, and particularly describes His ministry. But the other parables may be taken in the following order. 1. The seed then sown by Christ in this field of the world, that portion of it even which fell upon well-prepared ground, was soon to be disturbed by the enemy. A spurious seed would soon be scattered among it, and it would spring up side by side with the blade of genuine grain ; that is, even in the Church itself, and among the faithful,

^m Matt. xiii. 3 ; Mark iii. 3 ; Luke viii. 4.

there would arise corruptions, vices, and scandals ; the parable of the cockle.^a 2. The sowing of this seed has evidently two distinct operations, one on the individual, the other on the Church or world in general. The heart, the dispositions, of those to whom doctrine is addressed, are essential for the cultivation in its first instance : when many have received it within, these uniting would form the Church. To each one, then, this seed of true doctrine is of immense importance and value ; it is the treasure, the pearl of immense price, which must be purchased by sacrifice of all else.^o When once hidden in the heart, it is as a leaven which will communicate its qualities on every side, and make the whole of society ferment with its spirit.^p 3. That seed which will at first be so small, hidden, and confined, will now spring up about the earth ; the grain long buried, will become a great and glorious tree.^q A portion only of all this belonged to the Jews ; the duty of receiving Christ's doctrine, laying it to heart, and being ready to surrender all to possess it. The rest is prophetic, belongs to the future, and neither friend nor foe could understand it then. It required fulfilment, and, as no one but our Lord himself knew what His kingdom, or Church, was to be, so no one, till the time came, could fully see the beauty of the applications. The time did come at length ; and we shall see how admirable is the wisdom which this teaching laid up in store for us.

There has never been any founder of a false sect, whether deceived himself by fanaticism, or deceiving others in malice, who has not promised, and pretended to make, a perfect system. The world, if it receive their doctrine, is to be regenerated, the elect alone

^a Matt. xiii. 24.^o Ib. 44, 45.^p Ib. 33.^q Ib. 31.

have to reign, or even to exist; vice and evil are to disappear before their doctrines and rule. Mohammed taught this, and used the sword of extermination to realize it. It formed the groundwork of the so-called reformation, beginning with the mischievous tenets of Wycliffe and Huss, that sin put an end to all rights, down to the murderous ravings of the German Anabaptists, the fanatical brutishness of the Cromwellian Puritans, and the wild dreams of Mormonites or Agapemonites. Certainly the beginning of the Church might easily have seduced men into the same dream; and the sight of the one-hearted church of Jerusalem, or of the love-bound community of Alexandria, might have made sanguine believers hope, that a state of unmixed virtue was beginning to prevail on earth. But jealousy and contest soon came in to dispel the vision. It was not, however, till many years after that this false principle assumed the form of a specific heresy. It is essentially in every heresy; it lurked in the early sects; it appeared palpably in Novatianism and Montanism; but it incarnated itself in Donatism. The basis of that heresy and schism, was, that the Church could only consist of incorrupt members, and that every portion of it which tolerated, or forgave those guilty of a grievous crime, had forfeited its claims. Protestantism is essentially Donatist, whether in its high-church theory of branch separation from the trunk, or in its lowest evangelical idea of an invisible elect church. Where was the confutation of this dangerous theory to be found? In the parables which we have arranged, with one more which follows them, and is but a confirmation of a preceding one; the likening of the kingdom of Heaven to a net, gathering all sorts of fishes, which are separated only on the

shore.^{*} This, our Saviour, by mentioning the angels as the sorters of good and bad, clearly refers to the explanation given by Himself, of the parable of the cockle. To judge of the importance of these parables, on the point referred to, let the reader only open, at random, any of St. Augustine's works against the Donatists. He will hardly glance at a page in which he does not find these two parables quoted or alluded to, together with the similar image of the Baptist, that on the barn-floor the wheat and the chaff lie mixed, till the winnowing-time comes in the end.^{*} "Novit Dominus triticum suum, novit et paleam," is almost a proverbial expression with that Father. He is never afraid of wearying by repeating the same arguments: these images are again and again quoted, are turned on every side, are alternately arguments fully developed, and illustrations to elucidate his own reasonings. But it is clear that in them lies the whole gist of the question; and that our Lord had carefully buried in them a seed of doctrine, which would not reach its maturity, till they who heard it had long passed away.

And now let us take another instance of parables seemingly spoken for a passing illustration; which yet have acquired a most sacred importance in the Church. One of the dangers to our Lord's disciples arose from the facility with which they would take up the tone of false zeal common in their time, and considered a characteristic of great virtue. For it is difficult for men, especially if untutored, to get clear of national characteristics. Symptoms of this soon appeared. There were little pharisaical contests for the first place, among those young children of the

^{*} Matt. xiii. 47.

^{*} Ib. iii. 12; Luke iii. 17.

Gospel:^t they soon got to wish for judgment upon those who resisted their master:^u and they rebuked little ones who would approach Him, as they thought, over familiarly.^x The Pharisees, it need not be added, only included our Saviour among those whom they despised, the sinners and publicans, because of His charity towards them. To each of these two classes, to His apostles and to the proud Pharisees, He separately, as it would appear, proposed the same parable; that of the man who, having a hundred sheep, and losing one of them, leaves the ninety-nine in what we call the desert, that is, to use a corresponding English phrase, on the *Downs*, or an unenclosed range of hilly pasture-land, and goes to seek the lost one. In St. Matthew, this parable is given to show the value of the soul of the least child before God, in answer to one of the uneasy questions alluded to, put by the disciples. "At that hour the disciples came to Jesus, saying: Who thinkest Thou is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven? And Jesus calling unto Him a little child," &c. And so from the sin of scandalizing, or causing the loss of, such an one, He proceeds to the earnest desire which God has of his salvation. Then comes the parable of the lost sheep, with this conclusion:—"Even so it is not the will of your Father who is in Heaven, that one of those little ones should perish."^v In St. Luke, publicans and sinners have gathered round our Saviour, and the Pharisees murmur, saying:—"This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them." He replies by the same parable, with a different inference:—"Even so there shall be joy in Heaven upon one sinner that doth penance."^z The parable, therefore, is primarily spoken, to illustrate

^t Luke xxii. 24. ^u Ib. ix. 54. ^x Matt. xix. 14; Luke xviii. 15.

^v Matt. xviii. 1-14.

^z Luke xv. 1-7.

two points of immediate use :—1st, that His disciples, instead of striving for pre-eminence, and despising children, must take them as a model, as being the special favourites of Heaven, for whose safety God is as careful as a shepherd is of that of a stray sheep ; and 2ndly, that as a lost sheep recovered is dearer to the shepherd than what are safe at home, so is a converted sinner more a cause of joy to Heaven, than many just souls. But no sooner has our blessed Lord elsewhere said, “I am the Good Shepherd,”^a and in a different parable assumed all the characteristics of one, than these words touch with a ray of new light this parable, and present it to us in a far more tender and consoling form. We no longer look at the immediate application, or consider it as an illustration : it becomes a description of Himself, in His dealings with the Jews, and with each individual soul, with Magdalen, with Peter, with Saul, with every other penitent, down to the writer or reader of these lines. But how could proud Pharisee, or dull disciple, nay, or bright angel, unless foreknowledge be part of his light, have possibly understood the whole beauty, reality, and pathos of this parable, till the pursuit of the lost sheep had been made from Olivet to Sion, and from Sion to Calvary, and the stray one had been seen borne up the toiling ascent, upon shoulders bruised beneath the cross’s load ? As long as the world shall last, that brief parable, which sounded at first but as a most apt figure of speech, will prove the consolation of many an aching breast, and the light of many a darkened spirit, and the inspirer of many a grateful thought.

But let us look at both these classes of parables, and we hesitate not to say that only a Catholic can thoroughly realize them, or apply them. A Protes-

^a John x. 11.

tant may see in them just as much as the Jew did. He will understand, in the first class, how the Christian religion was a treasure, or a pearl, worth every sacrifice. But if he stands to his Homilies, or to the popular belief of his church, he must teach, not that the enemy sowed cockle or tares among Christ's wheat, but that the whole crop came to nothing; that much of the seed rotted from the beginning and brought up spurious plants, and that what sprung up soon cankered, turned sickly, and died down to the root; so that the field showed little better than the high-road or the rock. For such would be the parable, to correspond with the theory that all Christendom was for hundreds of years involved in idolatry. Then, if to get *some* Protestant church-theory out of the parable, it is supposed that the bad seed signifies error in doctrine as well as scandals in morals—so that the Church has to be a sort of confederation of all manner of sects; or, like Anglicanism, may permit peaceful existence in her of any amount of denominations or shades;—then, indeed, we go counter to historical realization of it. For the Church has ever repelled into antagonism every other system, and has refused any to coexist with her in the same field. Then we have the image of the tree springing up from one seed, which at once overthrows this theory. The idea of one tree from one root, with living coherence of all its branches with the trunk, is incapable of application, upon any other system than that of Catholic unity. It is easy then to see how the parables of our Lord, which describe the future Church, or any of its great characteristics, can only have their true meaning in Catholic hands, and only receive verification in our Church. And in the beautiful parable of the lost

sheep, painful as it may be to say it, still we must not hesitate to assert it,—only a Catholic can feel its application. Others no doubt sin, and repent, and feel the sense (if their religious opinions guide them that way) of a forgiveness. Or a few, who mimic Catholic institutions, may seek forgiveness in a sham confession and hollow absolution—both uttered under the very shadow of an episcopal reproof. But a system of grace which, from first to last, by a certain working, brings home to the penitent sinner the lively assurance and sense that he has been mercifully followed through his wanderings, by a kind and steady friend; that he has been won back by gentleness; that there has been a delicate raising up of his heavy load, a caressing of his sickened heart, a mild soothing of his sorrows; that the thorns which have wound themselves around him as he wandered are not plucked, but picked from him with a dainty hand, and every wound and every bruise searchingly and minutely probed, but only to be cleansed and closed and skilfully dressed; and that then he has been borne in arms like a babe back to his home; a system, or rather a power, of grace, which makes him know the day and the hour, and the very moment in which he is again God's child, that is to be found nowhere, yes nowhere, save only in the one true fold of God's Catholic Church. And do we want one short, convincing proof? Nowhere else is the banquet ever ready, at which the angels are invited to rejoice for the lost sheep found. Nowhere else is communion considered, or given, as the pledge of a sinner's repentance. His heart may be full of contrition and sorrow, but he may wait many months before his minister shall think that this is a ground for an extra communion-day in the parish; but in the Catholic

Church, he bounds, at once, full of love, to the banquet ; from Magdalen's place at the feet, to John's on the bosom, of Jesus.

If this fulfilment be the result of a dispensation in the Church, this parable creates a not less perfect counterpart by its moral application. How the early Christians loved this image ! How they sculptured it on their tombs, painted it in their catacomb oratories, enamelled it on their glass ! The type of their Lord as the Good Shepherd, with the wayward sheep upon His shoulders, oh ! how it spoke to their hearts of the mercies of their conversion ! How tender a treatment of the sinner, to represent him as the sheep, the very kin of the lamb of God ! Then how natural that an institution founded for reclaiming and saving souls, that have gone the most fearfully astray, should take the same emblem and the same name. It keeps ever before the thoughts of those holy religious who adopt it, the charity with which their duties are to be practised, and the gentleness with which those bruised souls are to be handled. In other instances and ways do the parables, so easy of adaptation in the Catholic mind, influence the institutions and the language of the Church. To call the duties of the ministry the "labours or the cultivation of the vineyard," to speak of the clergy as "husbandmen," simply *operarii*, and above all to give familiarly the name of shepherd or pastor to the bishop, more perhaps in other countries than in ours, are modes of speech most common among Catholics, but scarcely so, we believe, among even Anglicans. This trifling circumstance shows, how the parables fit into our system, as we have before observed.

And as we have alluded to the application made by our Lord to Himself of the image of the Good Shep-

herd, we will observe: that as He is the model of pastors, the characteristics which He so justly assumes to Himself, must be considered as those at which inferior shepherds of souls should aim. Now this again is practical to a Catholic mind, even in that hard duty of being ready to lay down life for the sheep. Protestantism has had its pretended martyrs; the Church of England numbers bishops amongst them; Cranmer and Ridley for example. But can it be for a moment pretended, that they, or any of their fellows, laid down their lives for their flocks—threw themselves generously between their people and iniquity, and became a willing sacrifice? But our own St. Thomas, and the late Archbishop of Paris, and St. Stanislaus, and St. John Nepomucen (though not a bishop), and many others, fulfilled this to the letter. And the number is still greater of those, who have shown themselves ready to make the sacrifice.

It will be seen, by what we have written, that we consider the parable-teaching of our Lord as mainly embodying doctrines or precepts, belonging to the Church about to be established. This is in fact our idea; and we think it susceptible of being pursued still further. Speaking, of course, not so much of the passing, short, proverbial illustrations, or of such comparisons as are merely explanatory, with both which every discourse of our Lord is enriched, as of set and formal parables, there is a striking difference to be traced in the different gospels, between the selections made by each. It will be seen, we think, that St. Matthew, who writes for the Jews, and whose main drift is to show them how Christianity had to supersede their religion, has recorded, almost exclusively, parables that illustrate this point. His parables relate to the rejection of the Jews, in order to make

way for Christianity. In addition to the series of parables in this thirteenth chapter, which we have already quoted, and which all go to inculcate the importance of embracing the new religion, the following are the principal ones : indeed, all which occur in him, as spoken to the Jews. 1. The labourers in the vineyard, of whom those called at the end of the day were made equal to such as had been there all day ; that is, the Gentiles were put on a level with the Jews.^b 2. The two sons sent to work, one of whom pretended to go, and did not—the Jews again—the other demurred, but went ; that is, publicans and sinners, who should go before them into the Church.^c 3. The vineyard, let out to husbandmen who gave no return, but persecuted their master's messengers and servants, and slew his son ; for which the vineyard was to be given to other husbandmen,—a parable so plain in its application, that “ when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard His parables [this and the preceding], they understood that He spake of them.”^d 4. The marriage feast, the first-invited guests to which were rejected in favour of the poor from the waysides,—no bad image of the despised Gentiles.^e The parables of ten virgins, five of whom were rejected, and of the ten talents, were indeed addressed to the disciples privately ; but both, and the latter in particular, will apply to the purpose above intimated,—the rejection of those who had neglected profitably to use the advantages committed to them.^f And of such, the principal were most certainly the Jews. It can hardly be doubted that all these parables were purposely selected out of the many which Christ spake, to prove St. Matthew's particular point. They

^b xx. 1.^c xxi. 28.^d Ib. 45.^e xxii. 2.^f xxv. 1, 14.

become, as it were, the key to his whole Gospel; and when we look also at the very discourse with the disciples in which the two last-mentioned parables occur, and see that its whole subject is the destruction of Jerusalem, and when farther we compare the detail with which the Evangelist gives our Lord's noble and vehement declamation against the hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees, in his twenty-third chapter, and his full record of the Sermon on the Mount, in which the Jewish moral law is superseded, and the modern deformations of it are swept away, like cobwebs, from the sanctuary, we find that St. Matthew's Gospel bears intrinsic evidence of having been written with the view of proclaiming, to his countrymen, the overthrow of Judaism.

But while this scope may be discovered in the special parables which he has preserved for us, these no less belong, in many of their features, to the Church, and, in those parts, could not have been fully understood by the Jews. To take one example: the parable of the marriage feast clearly enough told the Pharisees, that they had refused the invitation to God's banquet, and that those whom they heartily despised and hated, had been called in their place. But what follows after is not for them. The man of the second party, who appears unrobed for the feast, and is cast forth, represents one already a Christian, unworthy of his profession, who is to be no less punished than they. How could they see the force of this declaration? It is for us. But then, in the eyes of the Christian, the whole scene changes. The parable represents to him the Church or kingdom of God, not in its wider and external aspect, but in that which belongs to the children alone of the Kingdom. The Jewish view can only reach the outer wall which

shuts it out. The Church within shows to us, not a system of dry faith and precepts, but a banqueting-hall, full of domestic joy and peace, and wherein God hath spread out a table ever furnished. Interior unity, the being one house, one family, one body, symbolizes itself in this form. The kingdom of God is to us a feast—nay, *the* feast; and we can no more realize the thought of practical warm religion, in disconnection with the eucharistic banquet and sacrifice, than we can think of home without a hearth, or of a family without a common table. The Church is not merely a teaching, but a feasting-place: not a lecture-room, but a banqueting-hall. And which Church exclusively is this? Enter the Catholic church (the type of the Church in the abstract), and you find not only always a table, but, if one may speak in so homely a way, a table with the cloth spread, which tells you that to-day there has been already a feast, and to-morrow there will be another, and the day after, as there was yesterday. If a Catholic found it otherwise, if he saw the altar uncovered and naked, and its furniture removed, and its tabernacle, in which the feast lies ever prepared, open and empty, he would conclude at once that the place was not in use; that, in fact, it is not actually used as a *Church*: he cannot dissociate the two—the Church and the feast. Where else is this to be found? In the meeting-house, we trow, the pulpit reminds one not of feasts. And in an established-church, though the piscina may have been restored, and two new oak carved chairs may be beside the communion-table, *this* is but as a piece of furniture covered up when the family is from home. Nor can we believe, that in the mind of an average churchman, there is any obvious and natural connection between his religion and the

communion-table; nor that, by any instinctive association, does he think of the latter, when he speaks of "going to church." No one, we again repeat, can fully realize this parable but a Catholic. For, as our Saviour spake it to the Jews, of His kingdom, consequently of the Church, it is to this it must be applied. But when applied as by a Catholic heart it necessarily is, every part is coherent, the figure is perfect, and the details full of beauty and instruction. It associates two ideas, those of the Church and of the Eucharist, which, in Him alone, are almost correlative. And thus only is the problem solved, how wonderfully a parable spoken of the one can so beautifully apply to the other.

St. Mark agrees with St. Matthew in this, as in other respects, and therefore does not call for any particular remark here. But when we come to study St. Luke, we find, through his parables, a different purpose and scope in his Gospel. He is not engaged with the Jews, nor endeavouring to root out their prejudices, and prove to the converts from them, that their religion and state have passed away. He writes for the Greek or the Hellenist converts, for those who have less difficulty on that point; and therefore his object is, to place before them the high standard morality of Christ, and exhibit the beauty of His religion, by its influence on the character and nature of man. With St. Matthew, he has parables in common; as the sower, the hundred sheep, the vineyard and husbandmen, and the marriage feast. The parables of the mustard-seed, and leaven, also he has, but not as in a series relating to the Church.^a But the following beautiful parables are exclusively his: 1. The good Samaritan;^b 2. the Prodigal child;^c 3. the unjust Stew-

^a Luke xiii.^b Ib. x. 30.^c Ib. xv. 11.

ard;¹ 4. Dives and Lazarus;^k 5. the Pharisee and the Publican;^l 6. and that short, but most sweet of parables, of the two servants forgiven by their master, and proportioning their love to his kindness, His pleading for Mary Magdalen to the Pharisee.^m And it must be observed, that many of these are not spoken in answer to questions, but are direct and spontaneous emanations of the divine wisdom in Jesus Christ; consequently, must be considered as intended to convey great and complete lessons. In fact, if we attentively consider them, in the order in which we have enumerated them, we shall find them to contain the whole theory of the following practical points:—1. Active fraternal charity in its perfection; 2. the whole history of the sinner's fall, return, and forgiveness; 3. the duty of alms-deeds, and its motives; 4. the vital and fundamental principle of man's end, and of the use and worth of creatures; and the consequences of rightly or wrongly acting on that principle;ⁿ 5. the complete doctrine of prayer;^o and 6. the true character and motives of repentance, and the right principle of forgiveness and justification.

Before we enter into any details on any of these points, we must observe that still these parables refer to the visible and practical duties and morality in the Church. They represent courses of action, principles embodied in practice: they include the inward animating motives, or impulses of grace that guide them, as descriptions of the actions of the body suppose corresponding wishes, or thoughts, of the soul within.

¹ Luke xvi. ^k Ib. 19. ^l Ib. xviii. 10. ^m Ib. vii. 40.

ⁿ The entire principle of St. Ignatius's *Exercises* is to be found in this parable.

^o With the parable immediately preceding it, of the unjust judge, overcome by the widow's importunity (v. 2).

To another evangelist belongs the higher office of describing the direct and invisible influences of grace. But these parables, in general, contain new principles of action, and describe a course of proceeding which could not be understood fully in the old dispensation, and have reference to what was to be developed in the new. And although some of them as referring to moral duties, may appear as applicable in one form of Christianity as in another, yet it is not so. There is hardly one of them which does not contain an idea incompatible with Protestantism. For example, the publican standing "afar off," in his prayer in the temple :—From what is he afar off? The Catholic says at once, "From the altar, of course, at the very bottom of the Church;" and, if better instructed, he will add, "and where, in accordance with this feeling, the early Church put penitents, and penitential pilgrims would now kneel." The Protestant would say, "The parable has reference to the temple, and not to a Christian Church." Then which *realizes* the parable? But if he thinks it may be applied to our times so materially, being a high-churchman; we ask,—Do penitents in his church stand, through reverence, far away from the altar on a common day? Is that natural to them? It is to us. And why? Because the Catholic has, more than in the temple, a Holy of Holies on his altar, in the Blessed Eucharist: while the Protestant communion-table, when it has reached its highest aim, bears only a cross and a pair of candlesticks; the emblems at most, one of a possible image, the others of a suppressed or prevented light. Again, the parable of the unjust steward contains the idea of intercession by those in heaven: evade it, and you destroy its completeness. The parable in favour of Mary Magdalen is expressly directed to prove, that

love, and not mere faith, is the groundwork of contrition; and it shows the merit and value of outward acts exhibiting sorrow, and the wish for pardon, tears, penance, satisfaction, all approved of; as well as an outward declaration of pardon.

The parable of the prodigal would require more space than we can give it: but we do not hesitate to say, that its beauties cannot be fully seen, except by a Catholic eye. Who but a Catholic can trace the exact parallel between the father's house, and the religious child's home in the Church? Who but one familiar with the tale of many sinners, opening their hearts to him, can track every step of others' wanderings; can thus tell to many a startled hearer his own sad history, or rather tell the prodigal's, so that it shall be as a mirror before him, and make him taste his own heart as bitter as the acorn? And if we have thus roused him to return towards his early home, where, out of the Church, is to be found the warm embrace, the self-accusation made indeed, but almost stifled in the caresses of forgiveness? Where the robe of grace, the ring of filial adoption, the shoes of strengthening encouragement? Where, above all, the feast of joy, not merely of refreshment, prepared to welcome him? Is all this minute, and most natural, and most cheering detail, but superfluous dressing out of a most simple idea, that by an inward act, there was sudden conviction of sin, and a sense of forgiveness? Or does it signify that, still inwardly, a man repented him of his ways, and perhaps shed silent tears over the past, and resolved amendment: or perhaps even applied to himself the general absolution in the morning service: or if he went to his rector and told him what he felt, and had determined, was told, "he was glad to hear it, and hoped there would now be less poaching in the

neighbourhood." But trifling apart, there is not a parish priest, nor a missionary, nor a spiritual director, who could not give twenty cases of conversion in which the parallel with the prodigal's history is most complete: and there is not a penitent in the Church who could not say, that from his first departure from virtue to the communion that crowned his conversion, he had seen and felt, in acts, and sensible ministrations, and their effects, all that is so minutely described by our Lord.

But while we have thus claimed for the Catholic Church alone the power fully to appreciate our divine Lord's parables, by entirely realizing them, we have, we trust, prepared the ground for another conclusion. It may be observed, that truth presents us ever with two classes of evidence. The first consists of the great and direct proofs on which it rests; the second, of those innumerable and unprepared convergences of argument that meet in it from various points. The former will bring us to the truth; but the latter often more sensibly secure our conviction. The one is as the trunk of the plant, the other as the suckers and tendrils, which lay hold on every side of various and effectual support, and will often prevent the plant from being overthrown by a sudden gust. Now we think that even so slight and superficial a view, as we have here had an opportunity of presenting, of the parables, may contribute somewhat towards these minor evidences, in favour of our faith.

For surely, it must afford our minds considerable satisfaction, to find how, in our own religion, and in no other, this part of our Saviour's teaching is fully carried out. It has been by other means that we have been brought to a distinct conception and belief of dogma: by the plain texts of the Old and New Testa-

ments, by the teaching of our Redeemer, and that of His apostles: by the concurring testimony of antiquity, and the living voice of the Church: When from all these a system has resulted, of the Church, its government, its characters, its duties, its sacraments, its connection with the world and with time, boldly clear, and definite; and when, taking this more obscure part of our Lord's instructions, and analyzing it, we find it fit this view exclusively and in every part, we must conclude that they were made for one another,—this Church and the series of parables, and that both come from one hand. It is like experiments in magnetism coming to corroborate the Newtonian theory.

But there is a higher thought to which these our poor inquiries have led us: and we trust it will not be deemed presumptuous. Our blessed Lord speaks His parables off-hand, if we may reverently use the word; with reference often to passing demands on His instruction. Even they who have impiously pretended that the whole Gospel was an after-thought, and the composition of disciples in early ages, must admit at least, that the record of these parables is far anterior to the age when Catholicity (according to them) took its present development. How then account for the coincidence of the two in every part? Let us observe that the marvellous structure of Christianity was from its foundations without a formal plan: its laws were embodied in no stiff code; its government was not defined in one formal decree; its doctrines were not compressed into a symbol; and its precepts and maxims were not extended into a treatise. Nor were men chosen to raise the edifice, who, from scattered materials, were likely to compile a beautiful and perfect whole. Yet this was the result.

Stone joined itself to stone, as if by instinct, or mutual attraction ; the whole building stood, as if by magic, weather-tight, massive, solid, yet regular, rich, and magnificent. Government, law, faith, morals, discipline, all were found to have been provided for ; and as it grew, and extended on every side, ample provision appeared to have been made for its increase, in regard both of plan and of materials. And so it expanded still, until some thought that it had outgrown its measure, and original design. In all this, who does not see proof of a divine wisdom that designed and superintended the work ? But let us suppose even, that our Lord left, as some would say, the details of the system to natural causes and the working of time ; that He merely put together the main lines, and allowed them to be filled up ; or that even, upon a Protestant theory, the corruptions and superstitions of ages have shaped the Catholic Church as it now is —still, in every hypothesis, the fact is the same, and will go far to overthrow the erroneous supposition. Whatever led to the Church's present organization and development, it is plain that Christ's parables, that have reference to it, or His workings, fit exactly to it, as it is. Call confession an abuse, a mistake, or what you like, there is nothing else on earth that will make the close of the prodigal's history look like a lesson or a home-truth. Then our Saviour foresaw all this, and provided for it its rules and principles ; and He who could cast into the world but the rudimental forms of a religion, and yet throw out, in a mysterious form, what would describe its state, and regulate its institutions, after a thousand years, and more, of vicissitudes, could be only what He claimed to be, the Lawgiver himself, the supreme Author of the new Law, the incarnate Word of God. And that system

with which His prophetic teaching so approvingly accords, can be no delusion, or corruption of men.

Still further to bring out this argument, let us remark the immensely superior position which He takes, compared on the one side with the prophets, and, on the other, with the apostles. The prophet who deals most largely in parables, partly spoken, and partly acted, is undoubtedly Ezechiel. But he, like all the other prophets, never presumes to deliver one as from himself. It is always a command from God, both parable and application. On the other hand, the apostles in their writings constantly appeal to their having been taught, having received their doctrine. They also make use of phrases of exhortation; and give advice. Now our Redeemer always speaks the parable as His own, and gives us His own, and no other, authority. Yet these parables contain modifications of the old law, declare the rejection of the Jews, or rather pronounce sentence of it, give the terms of forgiveness from God, define the duties of the new religion, promulgate the new law; and often, as if to contrast with the prophetic declaration of dependence, "thus saith the Lord," these definite declarations are supported by "Amen, I say to you." Considering that the *nearer* one comes to God, and the greater consequently perfection, the stronger will be the sense of dependence, and the humble consciousness of the honour of such service; as Raphael with Tobias,^p Gabriel with Mary,^q the angel with St. John,^r more explicitly even than the prophets, declared themselves only messengers of God, we cannot admit even one step of separation between the Divinity and Him who "thought it not robbery to be equal to God."^s

^p Tob. xii. 18.

^q Luke i. 28.

^r Apoc. xix. 10; xxii. 9.

^s Philip. ii. 6.

And as to the second comparison, it must certainly be considered remarkable, that not once throughout the Gospels is the word "exhort" used, except once in St. Luke, of the preaching of St. John.* And this is to be the more noticed, as it is a word of frequent use by the same evangelist, in his Acts of the Apostles. Our Lord always commands, and leaves no alternative but obedience. He gives not advice, which supposes only partial knowledge; but He enjoins one, and only one, course. And this it was which really constituted, as we before hinted, our Lord's teaching "with power;" that is, as having dominion over the law itself, as possessed of inherent and rightful jurisdiction.

We fear we shall be considered to have indulged in a long digression; and, in truth, we must beg our reader to carry his memory back to where we enumerated, and commented briefly on, the parables in St. Luke. We there did not make any remarks upon undoubtedly the most perfect in structure, and the most beautiful in substance, of all the parables, unless that of the prodigal may dispute equality. We allude to that of the good Samaritan. We then purposely omitted any remarks on it, because we reserved it for this place. It will better illustrate all that we wish to convey, respecting the application of parables, than any observations of ours can do it. If we have not already exhausted our reader's patience, we will request him to follow us into some detail.

1. Let him read the parable as in St. Luke's tenth chapter; and that will save him, and us, the task of a narration. But we may be allowed, in a few words, to point out some circumstances which, to the hearers, must have invested it with additional interest. Our Lord lays the scene of it between Jerusalem and

* Luke iii. 18.

Jericho. Now the latter name does not signify the moon, as some tell us, but alludes to the sweet odour of the balsam-plant, there chiefly cultivated. The Arabic name, at this day, *Rihha*, confirms this derivation. Considerable intercourse existed in consequence, between it and the capital, distant a day's journey. But our Saviour placed the scene of the parable on the road between them, because it was notorious for being infested with robbers. It is as if one, writing in the last century, had put it on Hounslow-heath. The robbers of Palestine have always been the same;—armed bands of desperate men, or tribes of Bedouins,^a who are prepared for any violence, even where there is no resistance. One who heard our Lord deliver His parable, and who knew the road, would have the spot, at once, before his mind's eye. It was just between seven and eight miles from Jerusalem. It is the critical spot now, as it was then, for the East changes but little. In St. Jerome's time it was the same; and the very name, which the place bore, indicated its character. It was called, he tells us, *Maledommim*,^z that is, "the assault or rising up of the Idumeans," to which nation possibly many of these marauders belonged. Where the mode of travelling does not change, the length of a day's journey, and the distances for repose remain almost unvaried. Hence inns will be found for whole centuries on the same

^a St. Jerome, on Jer. iii. 2, observes, that by the robbers in the wilderness, there mentioned, "may be understood the Arabs, which nation, given to marauding, yet infests the boundaries of Palestine, and besets the roads leading from Jerusalem to Jericho."

^z מַעְלָה אֲדוּמִים St. Jerome, after Eusebius, translates it by ἀνάβασις πρὸς αἷμα, understanding by the second word, men red with blood. (*De Situ et Nom. Loc. Heb.*) At a later period a station of soldiers was placed near, to protect travellers. See also on the insecurity of this neighbourhood, Buckingham's *Travels among the Arab Tribes*, p. 5.

spot. In Italy this is certainly the case, as it was in old times in England. And in the East, where changes happen so much less than in Europe, it will be still more so. The pace of the ass or the camel has not varied; and they are still the beasts of travel. At the present time there is, or there was not many years ago, a khan or inn, not far from the spot thus indicated in the parable. And so faithful has tradition been, and so deeply has our Saviour's beautiful lesson impressed itself on "the very ground, that this hostelry is known by the name of the khan of the good Samaritan."⁷ But there are two more reasons for the choice of this place. The first is, that Jericho, after Jerusalem, was the great station of the priests and Levites, who came in turns to Jerusalem, to serve the temple. The body of the priests, the Jewish writers tell us, was divided into twenty-four classes, twelve of which were stationed at Jericho. Each class comprehended Levites.⁸ It would, therefore, be most natural, that men of this profession, not usually great travellers, should be found on that road. And on the day when a priest had to pass from one city to the other, it is most probable that a Levite likewise entered on, or left, duty; and travelled at a respectful distance from his superior, but near enough to have the protection of his escort or retinue. Hence the priest passes first, and then the Levite; contrary to the order in which, to show their inefficiency, we might have expected them to come on the stage. The second reason for the choice of place is, that Jericho is on the way from Samaria to Jerusalem, not straight across, but according to the line of public roads. Business,

⁷ Mariti, *Viaggi per l'Isola di Cipro, e per la Soria, e Palestina*, vol. iii. cap 6.

⁸ Talm. H. Taanith, fol. 27.

therefore, may have brought a Samaritan on that road, perhaps the only one in all Judea.

We can easily imagine how graphic and vivid the parable, *improvised* so completely in answer to a petulant question, "Who is my neighbour?" must have sounded to persons, who at once caught the propriety and nice fit of every minute circumstance in its recital. But every other detail is the same. A traveller on horseback and alone, would not be likely, amongst us, to have in his scanty baggage, salves and medicines; but fortunately in the East, what was provision for food, was considered the best dressing for wounds and bruises. The inns of Asia furnish nothing but shelter; the traveller must take care to bring his own provisions; two of the most indispensable were oil for condiment, and wine for drink. The Samaritan came from the country where both were of the best quality,—in the land of Samaria the one,^a and on the sea-coast, from Carmel to Saron, the other. He was likely, therefore, to have brought his flask of each, for his own use. Now wine and oil were a common medicament with the Jews. We will quote their words, because they will show how justly, on other occasions, our Saviour declaimed against their absurd splitting of hairs, and sabbatarian uncharitableness. "An old tradition hath, it is not lawful, for the sake of a sick man, to mingle oil and wine together on the Sabbath day." Again, "They spread a plaster for a sick man on the Sabbath. When? when they mix it up with wine and oil on the eve of the Sabbath. But if they did not mix it on the eve, it is forbidden."^b What wonder, that the men who thought it better to

^a "Oleum . . . pretiosissimum missum est ab Ephraim, cujus terra Samaria olei feracissima est."—S. Hieron. in Os. xii. 1.

^b Shabbat, fol. 134, Berachoth. fol. 3, ap. Wetst. *in loc.*

let a sick man die, than prepare his medicine on a Sabbath, should easily have found excuses for not taking one up on the roadside? The circumstance, therefore, of the Samaritan's dressing the poor traveller's wounds, is quite natural, and the ingredients of his application are necessarily with him.

The last point to which we will advert, is one which often spoils the recital of the parable. The Samaritan is said, upon delivering his charge to the host, "to take out twopence," and give them with these words: "Take care of him, and whatsoever thou shalt spend over and above, I, at my return, will repay thee" (v. 35). This seems to us but a paltry sum, and certainly if one made such an offer as this sounds to us, at the Star and Garter, or even a small roadside inn, it would be looked at with amazement. But the fault lies in the translation. Unfortunately a *denarius* has got translated *penny*: but without going into any learned discussion on its value, it is sufficient for us to say that it was a man's good wages for a day's work at that time. For, the labourers in the vineyard were satisfied with it for the whole day, till they saw that the same was given to those that entered at the eleventh hour.* The sum given was therefore

* Matt. xx. 13. In the Apocalypse, famine prices are thus given:—"Two pounds of wheat for a penny (a *denarius*), and thrice two pounds of barley for a penny" (vi. 6). We may remark that the difference of price between wheat and barley, as here given, is as one to three: whereas in the famine in Samaria the proportions were one to two. (4 Reg. vii. 1.) It is difficult to adjust the proportions of measures and values at different times, because coins and measures vary. The following varieties appear incredible; but we give them to show how much could be done, at times, for a *penny*. In the Chronicle of Josue Stylites we learn that, at Edessa, in 495, thirty bushels of wheat, and fifty of barley, could be purchased for a *denarius*. (Assem. Bib. Or. tom. i. p. 261.) Later, the prices were

enough to keep the patient two days ; and when we consider that the Samaritan was only seven miles from Jerusalem, to which he was going,^d and might be returning in the course of next day, we shall not be surprised at the amount of the advance.

2. This parable, then, in its *materiality* is perfect ; every part is most exact. And what a variety of important lessons it contains. First it effectually answers the impertinent question proposed, " Who is my neighbour ? " Secondly, it conveys a most mild, but tremendous, rebuke to the proud interrogator : for it tells him that a Samaritan knew better the meaning of a precept of law than a Jewish doctor. Thirdly, it gives a lesson of practical charity, without reference to creed or nation ; a doctrine totally at variance with that principle, which dispenses charity to the perishing by hunger and disease, only on condition of their renouncing their faith.

3. But who has ever read this parable, and not recognized in it the history of the world, and understood that Jesus Christ was the Good Samaritan described in it ? Now this is in fact the grand aspect of this splendid composition. It would be impossible in fewer words to make a sketch of the whole history of man from his fall, to his complete regeneration and preservation. It is masterly in every way, the strokes

four of wheat and six of barley (p. 271), and immediately prices fell again, and were, twelve measures of wheat and twenty-two of barley for a *denarius* (p. 272).

^d This appears from the difference of the expressions ; the priest and Levite were going " the same way " as the traveller (vv. 30, 31), while the Samaritan is " on his journey " (v. 33), and speaks of returning, which intimates going *from* home, consequently towards Jerusalem. The image is thus most happy ; the priest is one who walks in the same direction as the wounded man, of the same country and religion ; the Samaritan is one who goes opposite to them.

few, the masses simple and grand, and yet detailed so as to give them definiteness and character. Could man's fall be more accurately pictured than by a traveller (the *homo viator* of the schools) assailed by an enemy, robbed of everything, wounded all over, naked, half-dead, helpless, unable to move? And now comes the priest, the type of every system of previous religion,—of Noah's, Melchisedec's; nay, of Egypt's, India's, Greece's, false worship. They all recognized in man, the bruised and fallen type of a better state: but they neither cured nor raised him. Then follows the Levite, a title which specifies what before was generic; the law and priesthood of the Old Testament, still better informed of man's history, but as unable to succour him. At length comes the Samaritan, the stranger to man's race. Thus far an intelligent Jew might follow; but beyond this he would be at fault. Recognizing in Christ this character, he would ask, How does *He* intend to bind those wounds? What oil and wine has He that will stanch the bleeding gashes of humanity? How will He bear the burthen on His shoulders, of that prostrate frame of a whole gasping race? Was it possible for the most learned to solve this problem? Not till fulfilment had taken place of those awful realities, which were to give as truthful a counterpart of this portion of the parable, as existed in the other parts; and not even then, till the full system of the atonement was preached to Him, and He understood that by *His* wounds ours were healed, and that He verily bore the iniquities of us all. And thus much further, though not completely, can the Protestant pursue the parable; but not beyond this. We say not completely, for the sacramental nature of the remedies escapes him. The wine he will know; but what is the oil,

which has ceased to have all meaning in the Protestant system? It anoints him not, regenerated, into part with a kingly priesthood; nor, a stripling descending into the lists, to do battle with unearthly foes; nor a priest into an inviolable consecration; nor a worn-out pilgrim for his last wrestling with the giant Despair. With him it has no symbolism; it represents not to him the light of God's sanctuary, nor the *unction* of His word, nor the balmy softness (the *oleum effusum*) of two names most sweet in Catholic mouths. It rises not to his mind with the thought of virginity, anointed with the oil of gladness above its fellow-orders of holiness. It lingers not, as a holy seal, upon the stones of his altar, after ages of desecration in the wall of the old church, to tell whose once it was. It has vanished from his system, and together with it all uplifting of the priestly hand to bless. Consecration of man or thing he has lost, and knows no more. But oil, the emblem of all consecration, and of sacramental grace, and wine, the purest symbol of the saving stream of life, and of its sacramental in-pouring into man, form to the Catholic mind the most apt imaginable representation of the communication, to his wounded nature, of new health, new vigour, new life.

But as we before observed, but one step beyond the Jew's apprehension of this parable, Protestantism stops. Man, rescued from total death, is, according to strict Protestant doctrine, left to himself, and to his own judgment, to make the best of his way home. The good Samaritan leaves no vicarious authority on earth, to whom He fully and unreservedly commits the charge of Him, and who has to carry out His work. The cure was complete when He had touched, and there was no one to bind up anew the sores, should

they reopen, or to supply refreshment if the patient should faint. But the Catholic sees here to the end, every part fulfilled. The good Samaritan has gone on in His journey, and is not yet returned : we wait His coming at the end of ages. And man, though the death-wound is healed, and life secured, remains still but a weak and sickly creature, and has no food of his own, and no remedy, but what that compassionate stranger has left behind. But He has left it and him in good and faithful hands. Still requiring support, still in the pupilage of an impaired mind, still with the plague of recrudescient wounds, he feels with thankfulness that, till his best friend comes again to lead him home, he has been committed to those that have received the strictest charge to give a good account of him, and have been amply provided with present means, and secured by ampler promises for any outlay. A hostelry indeed it is—that stately Church of Christ—that Khan of the good Samaritan—for there is no lasting dwelling, no home for any one, this way to Jerusalem. Only pilgrims travel it. But how just a type : a house which is not our home, where we are only wayfarers seeking an enduring city, yet where we find rest, food, comfort, medicine, strength, at the sole charge of Him who has snatched us from destruction, and healed our wounds. Not from some one chance inmate of the house, who is but a servant there for a time, but from *the house* itself ; always the same, whoever rules it ; always the same, and the same to all. Surely no Church but the Catholic inspires her children with the feeling, that they are under this particular and certain care. It is the very contradictory of the theory of private judgment.

4. And now let us see where the practical lesson of

the parable is understood, and followed. Is it in poor-law relief, or in charitable associations, and mendicity societies, or in tract-distributing, domiciliary visits? Surely not. We have heard of a charitable society in London, called a "Samaritan Society;" which, a short time ago, busied itself very laudably with furnishing the dwellings of the poor with Arnold's ventilators. Very properly, certainly; but not very appropriately for their name. Noah's opening the window at the top of the ark, when the deluge was over, would have been a fitter symbol for this peculiar operation of charity. But go to the *Caridad* at Seville, and see that painting by Murillo, of one, not tricked out in ideal beauty, but humble, earnest, and busy with his toil—the bearing of a sinking, helpless body to the hospital: with an angel at his side, that seems as if he felt honoured in supporting him. That is a Catholic Samaritan—St. John of God. Or see him at Grenada, amidst the blazing hospital, lifting and carrying into safety, one by one, its numerous patients. Go to the frozen wilderness of Mount St. Bernard, and visit those men who have chosen it for their dreary abode, solely that they may be able to rescue the perishing traveller from the snow-wreath, or the precipice, and bear him to their house for Christ's sake, and warm, and restore him. Aye, and they have even, in the ingenuity of their charity, engrafted their Samaritan spirit upon canine instincts; and have taught their mute, faithful allies, to wander forth in the dark night and listen, amidst the howling blast, for the wail of the lost traveller; and having found him, warm him with their breath, and refresh him with their ready store, and lead, or even if young, bear him, with wagging tail and glistening eye, as a prize beyond the hare or the partridge. Go to every quarter of the

globe, and see the sister of charity, serving the sick and the wounded with her own hands, and hushing the old veteran that moans in his pain, as though he were an infant, and soothing more suffering by the gentle speech of her lips, or the crucifix in her hand, than surgeon's skill or apothecary's ointment can ever do. These are the copies of the good Samaritan, which the Catholic Church exhibits, without going back to those ages, when charity itself imbibed the knightly spirit, and the hospitaller of St. John was not more ready to strike home for Christ's sepulchre, than to bear his vanquished foe to the ready ward, and there nurse him like a brother; and without recurring to that more recent exhibition of the same spirit, when the ransomers, with our Lord's cross upon his breast, gave himself in pledge, or in exchange, for the captive slave in Barbary.

5. And now it is time to ask, what manner of wisdom that was, which indited so perfect, so grand, and so sweet a lesson? The most practised philosopher could not have struck off, in a moment, a more complete summary of the moral history of the human race, or a truer picture of man's fallen condition. Nor can we imagine any man, however gifted, presuming to speculate on the effects of his own death upon the whole world; and to put himself forward as destined to regenerate it by ignominious suffering. And still less could any man have darted his eye so deeply into futurity, as to sketch out accurately a system resulting from that event, as it would remain after hundreds of years, for carrying out and applying the fruits of his sacrifice. In the few lines which record this parable, we have a strong and irrefragable proof of our Lord's divine character.

We must, however, hasten to a conclusion. We

have endeavoured to show that St. Matthew's parables are chosen in accordance with his natural purpose in writing for the Jews,—that of showing them that the old law had given place to, or had been absorbed in, the new: and that St. Luke's are addressed more towards forming the moral character of the Church already established. Both direct their records towards the outward mould of the Church, and her exterior offices: towards the Church, that is, as symbolizing our Lord's Sacred Humanity. The Gospel of St. John presents a different character. The Church is now fully formed, and the walls have been built all round her, which separate God's vineyard from profane ground. The first sprouting of error makes its appearance among the chosen plants. A gospel is wanted for the interior of the house, for those to whom Jesus would not speak in parables.

This difference between St. John's Gospel and the other three, may not have struck every reader. But it is remarkable that in St. John there are only three passages approaching to parables,* which yet essentially differ from those of the other gospels. For the three instances are those in which our Lord compares Himself to a door, and a vine;† and where He describes Himself as the Good Shepherd.‡ In no other parable is He one term of the comparison: and we may say, without danger of error, that these three comparisons of Himself to other objects ought hardly

* Unless we reckon the passage in iv. 35, pointing out the fields as white for the harvest, which is rather an illustration than a parable.

† John x. 1; xv. 1. In the first of these our Lord first makes a parable, but immediately applies it to Himself. The second was addressed to the apostles alone.

‡ x. 11.

to be called parables. At any rate they form a separate class. Now what makes this peculiarity of St. John more striking is, that he clearly intimates to us that our Saviour's habitual teaching was in parables. After His last supper He says to His apostles, "These things I have spoken to you in proverbs. The hour cometh when I will no more speak to you in proverbs."^a And the apostles soon after reply to Him, "Behold now Thou speakest plainly, and speakest no proverb."¹ These passages express that our Lord's habitual teaching had been proverbial, or in parables; and yet, had St. John's Gospel alone been written, we should not have discovered this. They prove to us, therefore, that St. John supposed, or knew, other records to be in the hands of his readers, from which the nature and truth of this allusion would be manifest. These texts refer more to the other Gospels than to his own: and they form one of those delicate connecting links, which associate the four Gospels, as forming one record.

We may naturally ask, why did St. John select those discourses of Christ, which were free from parables? If we might venture to answer without presumption, it is because our Saviour Himself divided His teaching into two portions. So long as He treated of the Church, its duties and its vicissitudes, in other words, so long as He spoke of what was to be external, and one day historical, but, when He spoke, had only existence in prophecy, He employed what we have seen to compose the prophetic element of the New Testament,—parabolic teaching. But when He spoke of what already *was*, HIMSELF, His own existence previous even to Abraham, His coequality with the Father, His own Divinity, He shunned all parable,

^a John xvi. 25.

¹ Ib. 29.

and spoke plainly and distinctly. St. John's office was to treasure up this second series of instructions, for the confutation of nascent errors, and the orthodox teaching of the whole Church.

Hence, wherever he touches upon a matter already treated in the other Gospels, we shall find that, while they record for us what relates to its external forms or administration, that is, its body, St. John only preserves the discourse which describes its interior and more spiritual functions, that is, its soul. For instance, St. Matthew had fully preserved for us the institution of Baptism, and its form: St. John manifests to us, in the conversation with Nicodemus, the invisible agency of the Holy Spirit, and the inward regeneration by the outward action.^k Again the three first evangelists had carefully described the institution of the B. Eucharist: St. John passes over this, but has secured to us that invaluable discourse in his sixth chapter, in which the union with Christ, the immortality, and the inward life bestowed by that holiest of sacraments, are so consolingly described. St. John's office, then, seems to be, to manifest to us what our Redeemer taught, respecting that mysterious action which in His divine nature He exercises upon the inward life of the Church, and on the soul of the believer, but still ever in the Church, and through the Church.

But this has led us beyond the region of parables, and though we would gladly dilate on it, we must pause. It was our desire to add some remarks upon our Saviour's miracles, as illustrative of His teaching, and of Catholic doctrine; but we have already exceeded reasonable limits. We may therefore reserve our thoughts for another occasion, when we hope not to tax our reader's

^k Matt. xxviii. 19; John iii.

patience so severely. For we must own, that we can only compare ourselves to a poor beast of burthen, which, driven day by day on a long dusty road, cannot resist the temptation of turning into a green field, that lies open on the side; and there rioting somewhat on the dainty food around it, and striving to recall the thoughts and feelings of other days, and live them over again. We have heard that some find a joy in seeing wealth in heaps around them; we have seen the satisfaction of the man of taste when luxuriating amidst objects of art; we have felt the delight of living among the records of wisdom of past ages or distant lands; but far, far brighter and happier are hours spent in this treasure-house of knowledge, this rich collection of peerless gems, this library of heaven-fetched eternal wisdom—the speakings of God to man. If we have ventured in, and may seem to have presumptuously ransacked it, it has only been because encouraged to look in this storehouse of the wise Householder for old things and new; the first to be discovered by earnest study, the latter only by humble and sincere meditation.

THE
MIRACLES
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Dec., 1849.

THE
MIRACLES
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT,
AS ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

WE proceed, in fulfilment of a promise which closed our last essay,* to unfold our thoughts on a subject which cannot fail to interest every reader of the Gospel,—the Miracles of our Lord.

But before entering upon it, we beg for a few moments' grace, while we indulge in some preliminary remarks. In opening our paper on the "Parables," we briefly approved of the critical study of Scripture, and expressed regret that it was not more cultivated amongst us. In a notice of that paper, in a Catholic periodical, its writer remarked: "We do not agree in all the propositions laid down as to the value and advantages of biblical criticism ourselves." So slight a comment, so passing an observation, so modest an expression of difference of opinion, could never have elicited a word from us, unaccustomed as we are to notice reviews upon our reviews, did it not appear to us to indicate, what we have seen more strongly expressed elsewhere without reference to us;—a tendency to depreciate biblical studies, and the theo-

* Page 93.

logical use of Holy Scripture. That persons who have witnessed, during a great part of their lives, the sad and fatal abuse of God's word—who have seen it become a snare to the feet, a veil to the eyes, a cloak to hypocrisy, a seed-bed to heresies, and a very excuse for sin:—that men who have seen havoc come to souls from its misapplication, and ruin to conscience from its distortion,—who have heard every key of the sacred instrument jangling and jarring in distracting dissonance, as at once bravely thumped by the evangelical, and timidly stolen over by the churchman: that they, in fine, who have themselves perhaps lived for a time entangled in the meshes of contradictory interpretation, and have now exclaimed, "*Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus*," should look with distrust, and some dislike, on studies which tie men apparently to the killing letter, and quench the living Spirit, is perhaps natural, and as such pardonable. But there is danger in too violent a rebound; and we are truly and deeply anxious, that any extreme views, on so important a subject, should not be encouraged.

Let us for a moment consider this very critical study of God's word. No pursuit has been more abused: and we hope it is looking rather at the abuse than the use, that the writer alluded to tells us, that he does not agree with us, as to the value of that branch of learning. Eusebius, Origen, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, Alcuin, and many others, applied sedulously to it, and their labours have been highly prized by the Church of God. The Council of Trent, in ordering a new revision, and consequently a new *recension*, of the Vulgate to be made, commanded the severe critical pursuits necessary for this purpose.

But we are looking at the matter too seriously. There are two ways in which critics can justify their

disapprobation, in sweeping and general terms, of a pursuit. The one is by looking outwardly at its effects, and without taking the pains of fathoming it, making up their minds to its inutility. Even a very mild person might be led to pronounce that *conchology*, for instance, however pretty, is not a very useful science, because its influence on society, or letters, or individual character, and its results to mankind, nowhere appear. It is negatively condemned, if one may say so. But a great science, pursued by many great and good men, and, by them, brought to bear upon theology, and upon the preservation of God's word, cannot be so judged; and only they, we will confidently assert, have a right to pronounce, who can say that they have gone fully and thoroughly into it, and have discovered its hollowness. Now, unhesitatingly, we declare such a result to be impossible. No one can apply himself to the critical study of the Bible without finding it graceful, noble, sure to enhance his appreciation of the real beauties of the divine writings, certain to bring home to him many hidden treasures, and, at the same time, solid, convincing, based upon sure principles, and superadding the elegant and protecting structure of human research and skill, to the immovable and unshaking foundation on the rock of truth. It is like a bastion thrown out beyond an impregnable fortification; a breakwater outside the safe harbour, scooped in a craggy shore. Neither is necessary for security: but the one terrifies the assailant, and keeps him further from the walls; the other represses the unruly waves, that would fain agitate the haven's calmer waters. No part of biblical science has more thoroughly disappointed the unbeliever, and answered the Catholic's hopes, than the critical study of Scripture.

But probably it will sound strange to some, to hear us pronounce this to be a "graceful or noble" pursuit. Solid it may be; but what there is to captivate the mind, or win admiration, does not easily appear. We speak, then, of this study as catholicly followed; and as the great purpose of our whole paper is to prove how truly Catholics alone hold the sway of scriptural literature, we may be pardoned if we dwell a little longer on this point, and show how we have found this driest and least spiritual looking portion of biblical science, most savoury, sweet, and delightful. That the path to it is rugged, intricate, and often consequently wearisome, we will not gainsay; for the principle holds here, as elsewhere, that there is no royal road to knowledge. It requires patience to learn the technical part of the study, to become familiar with its peculiar phraseology, to unravel the intricacies of various systems, classifications, and recensions. Nor can this be attained without the further patience of learning perhaps more than one language, uncouth to the eye, rugged to the ear, and strange to the mind. Then there is a certain amount of practical skill in manipulation to be acquired, which is tedious at first, and requires perseverance. But when these preliminaries have been gone through, the science, even in itself, is interesting and delightful. When an uninitiated person gets an old biblical manuscript into his hands, "*miratur pulchros apices*," he turns it from end to end, admiring the regularity of the writing, or the preservation of the ink, and gives it back to the librarian, wondering somewhat of what real value such an old volume can be, or whether it may not possibly contain some new and strange reading (if he have heard of such things), which may puzzle critics or commentators. And then he

remains "*oculis laudator, sed mente non cognitor.*" Now let the practical critic take it into *his* hand, and see with what confidence and intelligence he handles it. As surely as a *connoisseur* in art examining a picture, he knows how to explore it. The very crackle of the parchment speaks to him: if thin or thick, if polished or rough, if white or yellow, it gives him a mark, a datum for calculation. The colour of the ink, the retouching of faded letters, the corrections between lines, all tell *him* a tale. Then he inspects the letters, which, like troops in a review, wear the uniform of a country or age. He pries into their junctures and divisions, their punctuation and length of ranks or lines; he scans their straightness or their flexures, their lengths and breadths. He notes the letters on the margin at given intervals, which to the other appeared random marks, and from all these signs, he pronounces, at once, a confident judgment of the volume's age. Now for its country. He looks into the text, darts over a few lines, detects certain errors by substitutions of letters pronounced alike in some countries but not in others, and thus gets a first simple clue. Then with a few master glances, just like an expert leader at the bar, who, turning over folios of foolscap in his brief, catches with his eye just the recital which contains the pith of the bulky brief, and makes up his case, over which his junior has pored for hours; he turns familiarly to a few decisive texts, gives but one scrutinizing look, and, shutting the volume, tells you, not merely its country, but perhaps the very city or monastery in which it was written. As certainly as that picture-critic will distinguish the Spanish from the Flemish school, and even tell you whether your painting came from Andalusia or Estramadura, so

surely will the other tell you whether your manuscript was written in Egypt, or on Mount Athos. And of what use is this? Why, he knows, that if you were to read it carefully through, you could not find in it a single novelty; that by no possible combination of chances, could it contain a single word that could give the sceptic a new objection, any more than the discovery of any imaginable genuine sketch by Raphael, could possibly lead us to the conclusion that he was a bad draughtsman. But at present we are rather bent on proving that this critical study of the Bible is really a pleasant and gratifying pursuit. Let us take another example. Let us suppose that we wish to amuse ourselves with the origin of some outlandish translation. We will take, for instance, the Arabic version of the Psalms, published by Gabriel Sionita, at Rome, in 1614 and 1619,^b and most beautifully printed. Be not startled, gentle reader; we are not going to give you a single hard word, or strange-looking character, as we did in our last article. We are not going to use any long technical terms. Follow us gently, and as it were tiptoe; and we will give you a little specimen of critical *clairvoyance*. Look into that cell. It is in an Eastern monastery, on the craggy side of Mount Libanus, with palm-trees shooting up slender around it, and waving their graceful heads to the evening breeze. All is still and calm; the chanting has ceased, and each pious recluse has slowly returned to his cell. Look again at the one we have chosen, rude and bare as it is. There, by the latticed window, thrown open to the setting sun, on his little square mat, sits, Arab fashion, a bearded monk, grave and furrowed with

^b That is, the same text is reproduced at the latter date, with a new title.

lines of thought. At his left side is his inkstand with his reed-holder, passed behind the girdle like a dirk. In his left hand he holds his page of vellum on a slight board, in his right his ready cane pen: for he leans not his body nor his book on anything when he writes. He lives at a time when the sacred language of his country, the Syriac, is becoming less known even in religious houses, and an Arabic, or vernacular, version is required of the Psalms. He, being well skilled in languages, and a worthy man, has been ordered to make it, and is already plying his sacred task.

Now first, what is he translating from? On a low three-legged stool beside him, lies the open volume. What language is it? "How," you reply, "can I possibly see, at this distance of place and time?" Then I will tell you: it is a copy of the Septuagint, or ancient Greek version of the Bible. How do we know this? Every verse of his translation tells us so. For, while that version differs very remarkably from the Hebrew in its readings, his translation throughout keeps close to the former. Well, this is a very simple discovery. But we see that our good monk is not *very strong* in his Greek, for he keeps every now and then looking at another old volume, or rather roll, beside him. It is clearly the Hebrew original, which being more akin to his own language, he can better master. He uses it, therefore, as another would a lexicon. Hence through his translation, when a hard and puzzling word comes in the Greek, we find him putting the very Hebrew word into his text, making quite a jumble of it. This tells us that he did not help himself out of another version already made from the Hebrew, but dealt freely with the original. But we have very curious proofs of this. We are now

watching him translate Ps. lxxvii. v. 74 (69 Heb. and Gr.). He has hit upon two curious deviations from both the Greek and the Hebrew. And yet we can very easily account for them; but only one way. If in two small words together, we imagine him to have mistaken, in one a *beth* for a *caph*, in the other a *caph* for a *beth* (the two *Hebrew* letters being very much alike), we get just his reading. And the same verse contains another certain proof, but too complex for our present purpose.^c

See him now fairly nonplussed. He has got to Ps. xxxix. (Heb.) v. 9 (in LXX. v. 6), and there he finds the two texts irreconcilably different. You may behold him, with his hands dropped before him on his knees, waving his body backwards and forwards, and gently stroking his beard, as Orientals do when they wish to convey electricity to their brains. And now a bright thought has struck him. He knows not which reading to prefer, so he will put them both in; and consequently he combines them, and gives us in his translation a double version, from the Greek and from the Hebrew.^d Having discovered this notable expedient, he has recourse to it again in similar difficulties: for example in Ps. xlv. (Heb.) verses 13, 14, where he once more treats us to both texts. But this Psalm seems to have greatly perplexed him; for sometimes, as in a fit of desperation, he fairly takes his departure altogether from both his originals, and hazards a most unaccountable paraphrase of his own.^e He however finds another remedy in his difficulties. There he gets up, and takes down from his small library, or rather out of his book-chest, another volume. How shall we make that out? Very easily: we can see it from here

^c See note (A) at the end of this paper.

^d See note (B).

^e See note (C).

as we peep over his shoulder. It is the Syriac *Peshito* version. He is engaged on Ps. xcvi. (Heb.), and at every verse he looks into this translation, and does not hesitate to be guided by it. Coincidences so curious occur, as to leave us no doubt of this.^f

The good old translator may have pretended what he liked to his less learned brethren, and may have made them suppose that he was very fluent in Greek, and read it off like an Athenian: but he cannot trick us, and we can make out, as plain as if we saw him, every book that he used. Nay, we can even decide to what country his copy of the Greek text belonged, that it had the text, as corrected by Lucian: and probably that it was what is called a Hexaplar copy.

We may be further asked, why we put the author of this version on Mount Libanus, and not in Chaldea, or Egypt, for instance. Here again interior data combine to determine us: the translation from the Greek, and the knowledge of Hebrew, do not allow us so easily to attribute it to the first country, where the Greek language had long ceased to be known, and Hebrew could be but little cultivated, before this version was made; while the use of the Syriac version, unknown or unused in Egypt, does not permit us to assign it to the latter. But in Syria we have every requisite condition for explaining the character of this translation.^g

^f See note (D).

^g What is lightly and vaguely described in the context is the true history of this version. The writers of "Introductions to Scripture" have been satisfied with pronouncing it to be translated from the Septuagint. But a searching collation of a sufficient portion has convinced us, that the medley of versions enumerated above has concurred to produce a most anomalous, heterogeneous, and often unaccountable translation. We have minute data for this conclusion. [This might suffice for an anonymous publication; but the author

But all this may show how any one who has spent perhaps years in the preliminaries of this study, and has some peculiar local opportunities of perusing it practically, may find interest and even amusement in his researches; but what influence can these have upon his higher perception or relish of God's word? Or we may even ask, do they not naturally divert his thoughts from the better study of its uses, and value of its perfection? We say, most decidedly not. An illustration strikes us, which may explain our view of the matter better than a disquisition. Let us suppose two enthusiasts about architectural beauty to enter a noble old cathedral; and both, as is the custom with such, straightways to fall into raptures—real ones, in our supposed case—about it. They vie with one another in their exclamations of delight; they praise the harmonious whole, the exquisite proportions, the gigantic dimensions, the delicate enrichments, the airiness of its superstructures, and the solidity of its walls. Chancel and nave, aisles and transepts, pavement and vault, are accurately scanned, rated, dated, and pricelessly valued. The bewildered verger stands amazed, for they evidently know more than he does, who has been in and out of that church, as man and boy, any day these six-and-thirty years. But of the two admirers, the one has evidently some peculiar skill beyond the other. While one is still rambling on, and re-admiring the same beauties again and again, the other is standing still on one spot, and book and pencil in hand, is—sketching perhaps? No, actually calculating. In the midst of that wondrous structure, he has the heart to think of Cocker, or Bonnycastle, has felt it his duty to give some of these data, in notes at the end of this essay, to prove his statements; though his arguments can have but slight interest, except for biblical critics.]

and to perpetrate so vile a thing as a sum ! By a penetrating, as well as a comprehensive glance, he has measured the vast masses which compose the edifice ; he has calculated the weight of those enormous blocks which, to his companion's eye and his own, looked so light, more like stalactites pendent from a cavern's roof than solid stone, and appeared hardly to press upon the slim and towering piers. He has estimated how nicely adjusted to the weight is the skilfully planned support, and what clever combinations were required to produce the actual effect. Moreover, he has accurately ascertained, what complicated yet correct machinery must have been necessary, before the resources of modern mechanics were developed, to exercise the huge power requisite to raise those blocks, and place them securely on their beds high up in air. But if his friend casts on him a glance of almost scorn, as he passes by him, still engaged in his unpoetical labours, how will he regard him when he sees him actually begin to grope and poke into every cranny of the building, and rub off the whitewash, and scrape the pavement, and scrub the tombs ? And thus he discovers of what curious materials the structure is composed. The pillar is marble, from Devonshire or from Westmoreland ; this canopy is stone, from Caen ; this monument is alabaster, from Tutbury ; this slab is granite, from Anglesey ; this bit of pavement, is tessellated work from Italy ; for here are serpentine and porphyry with gold *smalti* : even the main walls are built up with sandstone from quarries at least twenty miles off, without water-carriage.

Now we ask, does this man who thus studies and comprehends the laws of the construction and preservation of the building, and its very hidden and internal substance, lose or gain in true, deep, and earnest

admiration of it, and of its wonderful architect ? Yet we do not hesitate to say, that in equal measure will he have advantage, who has carefully and catholicly pursued the critical study of Scripture. For what else is this but the endeavour to discover the means whereby God has framed and preserved this beautiful structure of His wisdom on earth ? It is, in fact, the history of His providential dealings with His own divine Word. As we follow it, we discover the marvellous agencies which have been kept at work to preserve, through the vicissitudes of ages, the sacred text. It is translated in every variety of language, by every diversity of genius and learning ; it is collated and revised from the most opposite motives, hostile or friendly, orthodox or heretical. It is transcribed in every country, by holy scribes like Bede and Alcuin, or by hasty, blundering, and mercenary penmen. And this goes on for ages ; the Jew desirous of one reading, and the Arian of another, and the Catholic striving for the truth. Only an accurate critical study can give a right notion of these various powers, some naturally appearing to tend towards involving the whole text in inextricable confusion, others to distorting it positively into a wrong direction. Yet as surely as did the steam-engine and the hydraulic press, and the pontoons, and the many capstans with their many crews, lately bring the Britannia tube-bridges into their right position, and firmly plant them there ; because, though to a mere bystander they appeared pulling in various and conflicting ways, yet they were all under the direction of one master-mind ; even so do the many strange powers, to all appearance discordantly at work for ages upon the texts of Old and New Testaments, appear to the devout scholar, overruled and made

subservient, by a wise and unseen control, to the placing and preserving in its high and noble position in the Church, that holy and venerated record of God's mercies. The very jarrings of conflicting interests, the jealousies, the strivings of error against error as against truth, will be found to conspire to the same great purpose. And most certainly, a searching study by a Catholic mind into the very words and points of that sacred writing, is a homage of respect and love to the wise Builder, who has employed them as His materials in this His edifice. They who of old loved God's sanctuary, loved the very stones of which it had been built, even after they had been dispersed.^h And that study which directs its attention to the materials that enter into the construction of the sacred volume, makes us search for their origin, their accurate form, their rightful position; which enables us to see the treasures and curious fragments of different ages and countries, brought from afar, and made to fit in, and strengthen the work; nay, which in the rudeness or elegance of its construction, shows us equal aptness, design, and evidence of truthfulness and genuineness,—that study, surely, instead of impairing, greatly must increase our veneration and love for Him, who has condescended to speak to man in the language of man, and subject His written, as He did His living, word to the gaze, the scrutiny, and even the inflections of men. We would venture to say more, were it likely that we should be believed by any but the experienced. We will, therefore, draw this rambling and perhaps tiresome disquisition to a close, by referring, as an example, to only one passage, Matt. xxvii. 17, where the terrible awfulness of the proposal

^h Ps. ci. 15.

which it records, is inexpressibly aggravated, to one acquainted with the critical history of its text.¹

Most writers who have treated of our Saviour's Parables, have joined to them His Miracles. A considerable number of essays profess to speak of both : and the reason is sufficiently obvious. Our Lord's miracles may be contemplated in three distinct lights.

1. Simply as miracles or wonderful works, directed to give overwhelming authority to His teaching, and to evidence His heavenly mission and His divine nature. Hence He Himself repeatedly appeals to them, as proofs of His claim to be heard and believed.² This view of His miracles appertains to the evidences of Christianity ; and in that branch of theology, the character, reality, and the testimony of these marvels, are duly considered and vindicated.

2. As works of mercy. He whom compassion for fallen man had drawn down from heaven, and who had come to rescue him from sin and death, could not but desire to alleviate those sufferings, which were the consequence of the one, and the precursors of the other. He possessed the power likewise to do so, while he chose to live in privation of the means of ordinary alms-giving. It was by the exercise of His

¹ [As I find this allusion is not easily understood, I take the opportunity of explaining it. From ancient MSS. and other sources, it would appear that Barabbas bore the same name as He, with whom he is here impiously compared ; a name, at that period not uncommon, but now only to be pronounced with deep reverence, and tender love. Out of these feelings, the robber's prænomén has been dropped from the text : which, with it inserted, would now make one shudder. Pilate's description of our Lord, "who is called," &c., thus becomes more natural.]

² Matt. xi. 20, 24 ; xii. 41 ; Mark. iv. 40 ; Luke iv. 36 ; vii. 16 ; John ii. 23 ; v. 36 ; vii. 31 ; x. 25, 38 ; xii. 37 ; xiv. 12 ; xv. 24.

power, therefore, that He gave us example of the discharge of charitable duties towards the poor. He could not give them money, in their illness, to buy food; but He gave them health and strength to earn it. In this way St. Peter considered the exercise of the miraculous powers deputed to him: "Silver and gold, I have none; but what I have I give thee: in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk."¹ Where others gave silver, he gave a cure; where others bestowed gold, he bestowed a miracle. The Jews saw our Lord's miracles under this aspect: they not only admired them as evidences of immense power, but they esteemed them as proofs of unbounded goodness. They would have feared Him, whereas they loved Him, had His miracles been only deeds of might; had the withered fig-tree, or the drowned herds of the Gerasenses, alone evinced His greatness,^m they never would have exclaimed, "He hath done all things well; for He hath made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak."ⁿ

3. It is evident that Christ's miracles, even under these two points of view, were powerful auxiliaries to His teaching. The first secured, in earnest-minded hearers of His word, deep attention; the second won from the affectionate, a willingness to be taught. The one drove to conviction, the other led to easy persuasion. According to the principles of the Rhetorician, they respectively served "*reddere auditores attentos et benevolos.*" The third mode of considering these great works, the one of which we are about to speak, rendered them *docile*, or teachable; for we have to treat of them as important and truthful lessons.

¹ Acts iii. 6.

^m Matt. xxi. 19; Luke viii. 32.

ⁿ Mark vii. 37.

We take it for granted that every Catholic, at least, has been instructed in this mode of reading the scripture account of our Saviour's miracles. He has again and again read or heard them commented upon, as lessons acted rather than spoken. "*Dominus ac Redemptor noster, per Evangelium suum aliquando verbis, aliquando rebus loquitur.*"^o It is nothing new to say that the cleansed leper represents the forgiven sinner, and that the boat saved from the storm, by the power of Jesus present in it, signified the Church. And if the leper is sent to the priest, the Catholic sees naturally the intimation of the priestly ministry in the parallel case. We, therefore, may assume that our Lord's miracles taught a lesson, and some important one.

In treating of the Parables we showed, not, we trust, unsuccessfully, that they contained a distinct body of teaching, corresponding to the prophecy of the Old Testament, and containing the principles, the history, the developments, and the action of the Church. Can we find in the Miracles of our Saviour a counterpart to this? Such is our present inquiry. If what was mysterious in His oral teaching related to things of future accomplishment, it may be fairly surmised that what was still more mysteriously taught by action, should be referable to similar objects. The analogy between a parable spoken, and one acted, is evident, and a miracle which contains in it a lesson, beyond its immediate and obvious purpose, is to all intents and purposes a parable, more even than the symbolical actions of Ezechiel or Osee. For example, when Christ orders His disciples to cast their nets, and, though all night they had done so in vain, they now find them filled with the miraculous draught of

^o St. Greg. Hom. 32 in Evang.

fishes,^p we at once see how appropriately this fore-shows, how they, when become "fishers of men,"^q shall bring multitudes into that net, which in another spoken parable has been made the image of the Church,^r without the multitude breaking the net,^s that is, destroying religious unity : and how this will be, not by human power, but in obedience to the divine command, and through the energy of grace. For, till the order was given them to go and preach, they had striven in their ministry in vain. Now all this is most apt, not merely because part corresponds to part, but because it corresponds adequately—miracle answers to miracle, each real, and not on the one side figurative. The command of God is equally true in both : and the draught of fishes is miraculous, as is the draught of men in the apostolic net. On the other hand, the cutting and burning of Ezechiel's hair,^t or his going forth from his house through a hole in the wall,^u or his lying upon his right or left side,^x or Osee's marriages,^y bear no proportion to the terrible exercise of power which they figure. They are mere human actions ennobled into representations of divine judgments ; whereas, as we have observed, in the Gospel image there was as much miracle on one side as on the other. Yet it must be borne in mind, at the same time, that the one miracle was immediate, definite, and clear to sight, while the other was gradual, indistinct, and to be learnt by reasoning. For, no one doubts that the propagation of Christianity by the twelve fishermen of Galilee was a divine and supernatural work. But while it was going on, this could not appear, as it does to us, looking

^p John xxi. 6.^q Matt. iv. 19.^r Matt. xiii. 47.^s John xxi. 11.^t Ezec. v.^u xii. 5.^x iv.^y Osee i. iii.

back on its success ; nor does the Church's net cease yet to descend, and to bring its goodly freight into the bark of Peter.

From the illustration which we have given, we may draw some first principles, that will gradually bear us forward towards our object. 1. For, if the analogy between the Parables and the Miracles of the Gospel, corresponding to that between prophecy by words, and prophecy by acts, in the old Law, will suggest their both having a common end and term, the instance which we have chosen will give us a further suggestion. And it is, that the miraculous lesson delivered by Christ our Lord, in action, will have a corresponding reality in what it teaches. If, in the prophets, the act of man was made to represent the action of God, the order cannot be reversed, and the best be degraded, by the actions of God in the flesh, describing or symbolizing anything less than themselves. Miracle can only foreshow, typify, or guarantee miracle. Nay, we will venture to say more. The marvel performed as a type cannot be greater than its fulfilment : the latter must be the greater. The delivery of Israel from Egypt was a divine miraculous achievement : the wonders of Aaron's rod, the opening sea, the swallowing of Pharaoh's host by the abyss, the plunder of Egypt, the great work preceded by the mysterious pasch, and apparently dependent on it, were well worthy to be considered final and complete. Yet they were all types : and when the fulfilment came, it came with such a superiority of grandeur and sublime results, as proved how only God can surpass His own work : and *will* surpass it, however magnificent, when it has been the figure of another dispensation.

2. Further, in this second instance we have presented to us another result, which may be also drawn

from the first. In both we find, that while the fulfilment is far superior to the figure, yet the appearance of miracle is much greater in the latter. Or we may better express it thus : the fulfilment relates to the order of grace, and the figure belongs to that of nature. The deliverance of man from the broken power of Satan on Calvary, was no less real, and was a more wonderful work, than the freeing of Israel from Egypt's bondage ; yet it was not seen by man's eye, nor felt by his soul, as this was. The conversion of the heathen world was a greater miracle than the catching of one hundred and fifty-three fishes : but conversion was an inward, soul-hidden act. If the miracles of our Lord teach as types, we must expect them to represent other acts in the Church, not only equally, but superiorly to themselves wonderful and miraculous : and yet these may, and probably will, be invisible and belonging to the spiritual life.

We may carry this comparison much further into details. The eating of manna represented the spiritual food in the B. Eucharist :^a the drinking from the rock, the refreshment received from Christ :^a the raising of the brazen serpent to cure the bite of fiery serpents, the lifting of the cross with its precious burthen to heal the angry bite of the infernal serpent :^b Jonas, in the whale, and cast again on shore, our Lord's resurrection.^c The thing represented was far nobler and sublimer than the type in every instance, and intrinsically more prodigious and miraculous ; yet this quality did not appear to men's eyes in the reality, as it did in the inferior figure. We must ever, therefore, bear this in mind.

^a John vi^b John iii. 14.^a 1 Cor. x. 4.^c Matt. xii. 40.

The Christian revelation wonderfully opened to man a second world, the sight of which had been utterly withheld from the heathen, and only manifested in glimpses to the better Jews. The new heavens and earth thus manifested showed man in a new state; a spiritual life, which has its laws, its course, its goods and evils, its beginning and progress, nay, its very food, its organic operations, its illnesses, its cures, its very death, though not destruction. The soul, that indefinite being even in Jewish theology, is with the Christian so real an existence, that he can individualize it in mind, and separate it in thought from his very self. He can speak of his soul as weak though his body is strong, or as powerful when *he* is feeble: it may be at rest and in peace while his outward existence is passed in tempestuous troubles—the soul may sleep, with Jesus, in the very bark that is tossed on the billows. He may feed that soul, while his body is starving; clothe it, while his flesh is naked. It may fly towards heaven while the mortal frame creeps on earth, and will attain its object when this perishes. All this requires a system provided for it: the “things spiritual,” which are so familiar in the Catholic’s mouth. Grace is the sphere, the order in which this spiritual life has place: it is its principle, its breath; the soul of soul, the food, the vesture, the sustaining vigour, the means of growth, the motive power; it is the ruling, and regulating, and perfecting energy of this invisible economy. A Catholic holds and understands all this, as though he saw it. But in the Gospel estimate this spiritual order is infinitely higher and nobler than that which includes the body, and its natural contingencies. To cure the soul is infinitely a greater deed and a greater miracle than to cure the

body, and so is to raise a soul, far more than to raise a body, from death.

There is thus established a corresponding order of existence and operations, between the seen and the unseen life; each being equally real. The Miracles then of our Saviour, if they are representatives of other actions, can find in this spiritual state their truest counterparts,—realities no less marvellous, and of a far superior character.

Yet so long as man has not been totally absorbed into the spiritual life, but still lives on earth, a compound being, it is clear that the ministrations to the spiritual life must pass through his lower state, and be connected with earth. The rain first rises from the earth, then falls on it again, and thence it comes forth once more in bubbling spring, or sparkling fountain, or it steals quietly out a brook or river, with fertilizing energy. And so grace was first begotten on earth, by the merits and the death of the Holy One; thence it was borne to its boundless treasure-house in heaven, whence descending into the Church's rich soil, it is redistributed, in endless beautiful forms, through her various agencies and ministerial institutions. Now the *sacramental* action of Grace, as conceived and understood by the Catholic alone, will exactly answer all the conditions requisite to solve our problem. The sacrament belongs to the higher sphere of the spiritual life; it is supernatural in its invisible efficacy, as the miracle is in its visible effect; yet it is real: it is so perfect a counterpart as to be a sufficient fulfilment; and it is so immeasurably above it, as to be a worthy fulfilment. And such we believe to be the real teaching of the great body of our Saviour's Miracles, as preserved for us in the apostolic records. As the Parables con-

tained the dogmatical and moral principles to be developed in the Church, so do the Miracles show forth the superhuman, and in truth miraculous, agencies of her practical ministry. The one tells us what the Church shall be and say, the other what she shall do.

It is now time that we look into the Gospel itself for the groundwork of this view.

Our blessed Lord, when alone with His disciples, before His passion, said to them : "Amen, amen : I say to you, he that believeth in Me, the works that I do, he also shall do, *and greater than these shall he do.*"^a That the miraculous powers alluded to in the first part of the sentence, were not bestowed on the body of the faithful indiscriminately is clear. St. Paul gives evidence that they were at most distributively given to the first Christians ;^b nor is there reason to suppose, that every simple faithful was a Thaumaturgus : it is peculiarly related of St. Stephen, that he being "full of grace and fortitude, did great signs and wonders among the multitude ;"^c as though this gift was special. But to the Apostles and disciples, the gift of doing all miracles, even the same as Christ our Lord, was part of their commission, bestowed on all, previous to their receiving any spiritual or priestly charge. "Going, preach, saying : The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils."^d Again, to the seventy-two the same power was granted ; "Heal the sick . . . and say to them : The kingdom of God hath come nigh unto you."^e To the first of these commissions, it seems impossible to add. The four classes of miraculous benefits enumerated, include all that our

^a John xiv. 12.

^b 1 Cor. xii. 11.

^c Acts vi. 8.

^d Matt. x. 8 ; Luke ix. 1.

^e Luke x. 9.

Saviour ever performed, even to the raising of the dead. And beyond this exercise of miraculous power, how was it possible to go? What greater works than Jesus did, as miracles, remained to be performed, in virtue of His promise? Was it possible to go beyond the raising of Lazarus? The words cannot be so understood. Then we can only reasonably explain them in this sense, that works of equal power, but belonging to a higher order, would be performed by the faithful followers, whom the apostles represent. We shall be more ready to admit this interpretation, when we see similar language employed elsewhere. For instance:—"Every one who hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting."¹ It is clear, that the hundred-fold of earthly goods, signifies not the reward of the future life, from which it is expressly distinguished; but a recompense in this world. But it means corresponding spiritual gifts, greater because belonging to a higher order, affecting the soul and not the body. For no one has ever imagined that the promise related to the real increase of the very things renounced, except perhaps some sensual millenarians. Yet no doubt the greater things promised, are not so striking to sense, so appreciable by the animal man, in his debased nature and with his limited faculties, as are the grosser and more material, though lesser, ones. In like manner, therefore, we may reasonably conclude the greater things than Christ's visible miracles, which the faithful had to perform, to refer to those works of power, which the ministry of the Church effects in the spiritual class

¹ Matt. xix. 29.

of her operations: and this gives us at once, her sacramental energy.^k

Upon this theory, the Catholic easily explains the selection made out of the countless miracles wrought by our Saviour. When St. John, shutting up the Gospel records, twice takes care to inform us, that "many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of His disciples, which are not written in this book,"ⁱ and that "the world itself would not be able to contain the books that should be written," to relate all the things which He did:^m we must conclude that the miracles recorded are selected from that vast unrecorded multitude, because these were particularly important for us to know. Hence St. John tells us, what was one main principle in his selection, and it accords exactly with what we concluded respecting his Gospel, when treating of the parables. After the first of these two texts, he continues: "But these [signs] are written that you may believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."ⁿ In other words, St. John selected his miracles with a view to establish our Saviour's Divinity, against the rising heresies of the early Church. Accordingly, as we find him give fewer parables, so we find him relate fewer miracles. But those which he does record, he describes with a minuteness of detail and a drawing out of proof, which are not only highly interesting, but clearly show his purpose. The most remarkable instance is, the cure

^k [St. Gregory, to omit others, thus writes concerning the miraculous powers given by our Lord to His disciples:—"Habemus de his signis atque virtutibus quæ adhuc subtilius considerare debeamus. Sancta quippe Ecclesia quotidie spiritualiter facit, quod tunc per Apostolos corporaliter faciebat.....Quæ nimirum miracula tanto majora sunt, quanto spiritualia: tanto majora sunt, quanto per hæc non corpora, sed animæ suscitantur."—Hom. xxix. in Evang.]

ⁱ John xx. 30.

^m xxi. 25.

ⁿ xx. 31.

of the blind man, in his ninth chapter. Every perusal of this beautiful narrative inspires us with fresh admiration. The sifting of the evidence, and the cross-examination of the witnesses, are masterpieces of almost forensic investigation. The resurrection of Lazarus, is another similar instance of detailed narration,^o directed to show how fully the miracle was tested by adverse parties, and how easy would have been its refutation or its gainsaying, had there been a flaw in its decisiveness. Another of St. John's miracles is remarkable, as bearing, like this, upon a point, towards which our Lord seems to have directed more especial miracles than towards any other—the confuting of the Jewish superstitions respecting the Sabbath. St. John relates another cure wrought on the Sabbath for this purpose, on which our Redeemer reasoned against the Pharisees respecting it. This was the cure of the cripple at the pool of Bethesda, in the fifth chapter, referred to and defended in the eleventh.^p When we consider that the right claimed by our Lord, over the divine institution of the Sabbath, as the Jews considered it, was a strong proof of His assumption of a divine power, we can easily understand how St. John, as well as the other Evangelists, should have selected miracles in which this legislative prerogative was exercised. And as we are on this subject, we may close it by remarking, that a similar selection of miracles is to be found in the other Evangelists, not only perhaps to establish the important truth, in the abstract, that the “Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath;”^q but, as He transferred all His authority to His apostles, and sent them, as His Father had sent Him, to show how they were authorized to exercise this lordship, by the transfer of its obligations to another day. The

^o xi.^p vv. 21-23.^q Matt. xii. 8; Mark ii. 28.

miracles recorded to prove this truth are the cure of a withered hand in the very synagogue,^r that of a woman bowed down,^s and of a dropsical man.^t It may be worthy of remark, that these three miracles (the two last exclusively) are related by St. Luke, whose Gospel we saw, in our former paper, seemed clearly directed to the forming of the Church, already established beyond the want of mere evidence against the Jews (the scope of St. Matthew), in practical virtue and religion. The rules of Christian Sabbath observance, as well as the Church's right to appoint the Christian Sabbath, are thus laid down by him.

But to return to St. John's Gospel, from which we have somewhat digressed, it may be worthy of notice, that besides the miracles which we have mentioned, the histories of Lazarus, the blind man, and the helpless patient of Bethesda, there are only two others recorded by him, before the resurrection, which, while they signally proclaim the divine power of Jesus, are most important for establishing the view which we are taking of His miracles.

While St. John made his selection of signs from the boundless riches of our Saviour's works, the other Evangelists did the same. They all concur in assuring us that He healed every sort of disease ;^u and yet it is evident, that they ever dwell upon some in particular, and such does our Lord Himself ever select. And these we shall find, both in their own nature, and in the circumstances accompanying them, the liveliest image possible of the sacramental institutions in the Church. We will rapidly glance at each :—

I. *Baptism*.—The most striking effect of conversion in the early Church, would be the admission to a new

^r Mark iii. 2 ; Luke vi. 6. ^s Luke xiii. 11. ^t Luke xiv. 4.

^u Matt. iv. 23 ; xv. 30 ; Mark i. 32 ; Luke vii. 21.

and wonderful knowledge of religious truth. The cleansing from original sin would be known as the direct grace of the Sacrament ; but the obvious effect, and the fruit of the grace, would be the initiation into the beauties of the Christian mysteries, and the participation thence resulting in the vast range of sublime religious thought. What a flash of intellectual illumination would dart upon the soul of a right-minded heathen, who had been groping in the gloom of complete ignorance, or in the twilight of a striving philosophy, when, for the first time, the Christian doctrine of man's origin, destiny, fall, and reparation, was unfolded to him ! What a steady, calm, and cheering brightness would seem to overspread the moral firmament, when the principles of love of God and man, and the splendid system of Christian virtues, were completely communicated to him ! If to men of study, of thought, and of superior mind, such as Brownson or Stolberg, the passage from a false Christianity to the true has appeared as the transition from light to darkness ; if their previous wisdom has seemed to them as mere childish perception compared with the clearness and brilliancy of the spiritual light which has shone on them, and played from its vivid centre on all other subjects of knowledge, and kindled them up in its own warm ray ;—what must the beam have been that flashed on a Dionysius, from the lips of St. Paul, when his noble doctrines threw into the shade all the wisdom of the Athenian council ? Surely to say, that “ their eyes had been opened ;—that they had passed from darkness to light ;—that now indeed they saw ; ”—would be the most natural expressions they could use to describe the intellectual change which they experienced in themselves. What would a moral pagan thinker, who was drawn towards Christi-

anity, most naturally ask, but *Domine ut videam?*—"Lord, that I may see?"* Hence, anyone conversant with the New Testament will at once remember, that "darkness" in it signifies the state of men before Christ's coming; and "light" the condition of those who followed him.

But the spiritual condition of man was not merely one of darkness and blindness: it resembled rather a state of total helplessness. Even when his feeble ray of moral light showed him the right way, he had no strength to follow it.

"Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor,"

was a true picture of man's mind, in regard to moral good. There was no vigour nor energy in the will; there was no stimulant to the choice of good; and worse than all, there was no consciousness nor hope of any infusion of a superhuman grace. But when the Christian found himself suddenly, not only able to fulfil the law of nature, but to "run in the way" of most arduous commandments; nay, when he felt himself ready and eager for suffering and death for Christ, and saw his tender daughter joyfully weaving for her own head the lily and the rose, into a double crown of virginity and martyrdom; to what would he liken himself better, than to one who had lain grovelling till then in impotent lameness, a cripple in every limb, till set free; and new strength and buoyancy had been marvellously bestowed upon his spiritual frame?

Every other sense, even the most inferior, has its parallel in the spiritual life. The soul hears in Christianity by that docility of learning, and that readiness

* Luke xviii. 35; Matt. xx. 33; Mark x. 51.

of obedience, which belong exclusively to the believer. "The Lord hath opened my ear, and I do not resist,"^v exclaims Isaias in the person of Christ. And frequently those who refuse to hear the word of God, through him, are styled by him deaf,^z as they are by the other prophets.^a In the New Testament a similar use occurs.^b To open the mouth or the lips, expresses similarly the power worthily to praise God, and to speak His truths.^c Again, therefore, we may easily imagine how a Christian, once fully imbued with the truths of his religion, one to whom the wonderful mystery of the blessed Trinity had been taught, with its no less sublime sequel, the Incarnation, able now to address God as He is,^d and to speak worthily of His nature, would feel as though the enjoyment of a new sense had been given him, and his tongue had been loosened, like Zachary's,^e to proclaim the mercies of God.

There are some other circumstances worthy of consideration in this matter.

1st. The afflictions which we have enumerated are almost always congenital, or date from birth. The blind, the deaf and dumb, and the crippled, are almost always born so; the cases that arise from accident are the exceptions. And in the New Testament this circumstance is particularly recorded. St. John expressly tells us, that the blind man cured by Jesus,

^v Is. l. 5.

^z vi. 10; xliii. 8; xlviii. 8; lxiv. 4.

^a Jer. v. 21; vi. 10; xi. 8; xxxiv. 14; Ezech. xii. 12; xl. 4; Mic. vii. 6; Zac. vii. 11.

^b Mark viii. 18; Acts xxviii. 26; Rom. xii. 8.

^c Ps. l. 17; Prov. viii. 6; Is. vi. 8; l. 4; Jer. i. 9; Ezech. iii. 27.

^d "In confessione veræ fidei, æternæ Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere, et in potentia majestatis adorare unitatem."—Collect for Trinity Sunday.

^e Luke i. 64.

had been so from birth :^f and two cripples, cured by St. Peter and St. Paul, are especially described as such from their mothers' wombs.^g The state, therefore, was one of privation rather than of loss; it came with birth, and was a natural condition. This class of visitation represents, in consequence, the state of man not brought to Grace, better than those sicknesses or infirmities which have afterwards grown upon him, or have resulted from personal misfortunes. When the disciples asked our Lord, if the blind man had been so afflicted for his parents' sins,^h they gave us no bad clue to the discovery of the cause of man's spiritual blindness.

2nd. In those whom our Saviour cured, by restoring to them lost senses or power of limbs, poverty seems generally to have been an additional affliction. That He was equally willing to heal the rich as the poor, we cannot doubt. But the Evangelists have recorded for us comparatively few instances of His going into the houses of the wealthy for such a purpose. It was the multitude that flocked around Him in the streets, the beggars on the roadside, and at the gates of towns,ⁱ who chiefly applied to Him for relief. He went to sup with Simon the leper,^k but we do not read that He healed him. Perhaps the proud Pharisee, who despised Magdalen, was above asking for it, or recognizing our Lord's miraculous power. This further enhances the parallel between man in his fallen state, and the healed by Christ. He was spiritually poor, as well as blind, lame, deaf, and dumb.

3rd. These particular ailments are especially connected, as consequences, with demoniacal possession.

^f John ix. 1.

^g Acts iii. 12; xiv. 7.

^h John ix. 2.

ⁱ Matt. xx. 30; Mark x. 52; Luke xviii. 43.

^k Mark xiv. 3.

We have three remarkable cases recorded of this. The first is related by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of a dumb demoniac.¹ The second is of one possessed, who was deaf and dumb, mentioned by St. Mark and St. Luke.² The third unites with possession, the triple loss of sense; the energumen being blind and deaf, consequently dumb, as described by St. Matthew alone.³ Now, here again is a most striking similitude between the spiritual condition of man and the physical state of those whom Jesus Christ mostly cured on earth, so far at least as it has been thought, for our instruction, right to accord. Man's soul was blind, deaf, and dumb, through the fearful possession of the evil one, who had usurped God's dominion over the mind and heart of man. He was in the bondage of the devil, as well as in darkness and gloom. Hence the two are joined in enumerating the objects of Christ's mission. "To preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind," had been foretold by Isaias, and is quoted by St. Luke,⁴ as descriptive of His glorious work. And speaking of this satanic mastery over man's body, we may as well remark, how fearfully, yet how strikingly, it was meant to represent a similar tyranny over his soul, in one other gospel description of it. It was a legion of devils that had invaded him, their influence had brutalized him to the level of the most unclean of animals, and then pushed him headlong into a gulf in which he must perish.⁵

We have not thought it necessary to strengthen what we have written by reference to authorities.

¹ Matt ix. 33; Luke xi. 14.

² Mark ix. 16, 24 ("Deaf and dumb spirit"); Luke ix. 38.

³ Matt. xii. 22.

⁴ Is. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 19.

⁵ Matt. xviii. 24.

There is not a point which we could not corroborate from the holy Fathers, who again and again represent the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the demoniacs as representing man in his fallen state. We will, therefore, proceed at once to the application of what we have said.

The rite by which, in ancient as in modern times, the Church acts upon that state of man, touches him with the healing power of Christ, frees him from Satan's gripe, changes his condition, opens his eyes, his ears, his mouth, and makes him rightly see, hear, and speak, and gives him strength to walk in God's commandments, is holy Baptism. So natural was this idea, that her whole ritual of baptism is based upon it.

First; the exorcisms which occupy its first part, show that the unbaptized are placed by her in the class, spiritually, of those under the grasp and control of the evil one. He is rebuked, cursed, and disdainfully adjured, and violently thrust out; and this is done with an energy and rudeness of language, exactly suited to the object, and like to what our Saviour used with His demoniacs. Dr. Pusey, in his well-remembered Tract on Baptism, has proved that every liturgy but the Anglican contains these exorcisms, and consequently this idea.

Secondly; the senses are treated as requiring restoration, and the very rites are copied which our Lord condescended to employ for the purpose of restoring them. When "they brought to Him one deaf and dumb, and besought Him that He would lay His hand upon him:" He would not consent to exercise His power by that ordinary mode; but "taking him from the multitude apart, He put His fingers into his ears, and spitting, He touched his tongue; and

looking up to heaven, He groaned and said to him : Ephpheta, which is, Be thou opened."^a Now this ceremony, the Church has, from the beginning, adopted into her ritual for baptism : where the priest, touching the ears of the catechumen, pronounces the same word, touching similarly with spittle, as in imitation of the divine action, the nostrils. And then into the mouth is put the salt, "the sacramentum salis," still further symbolizing the opening of the mouth, to speak heavenly wisdom, of which salt is the emblem.

Thirdly, in the rite for the baptism of an adult, there is a striking ceremony, which expresses strongly the Church's thought on this resemblance. The officiating bishop or priest signs with the cross the various senses, with appropriate words. "I sign thy forehead ✠ that thou mayest receive the Cross of Christ. I sign thine ears ✠ that thou mayest hear the divine precepts. I sign thine eyes ✠ that thou mayest see the brightness of God. I sign thy nostrils ✠ that thou mayest feel the sweet odour of Christ. I sign thy mouth ✠ that thou mayest speak the words of life. I sign thy breast ✠ that thou mayest believe in God. I sign thy shoulders ✠ that thou mayest receive the yoke of His service. I sign thee all ✠ [not touching] in the name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son, ✠ and of the Holy Ghost, ✠ that thou mayest have life everlasting, and mayest live for ever and ever. Amen." Again, when the bishop in the porch of the church, truly to the Catholic, "the beautiful gate" of God's house, stretches out his hand to the catechumen there kneeling, and raises him up, and saying to him, "Enter into the Church of God," leads him, holding by his stole, for the first time

^a Mark vii. 33.

into the temple, how much the resemblance must strike us with what was done by Peter, the first bishop after Christ, when, in the name of Jesus, he bid the lame man, at the temple gate, to rise; "and taking him by the right hand, lifted him up;" and the man "walked, and went with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God;" and he on his part, "held Peter and John,"^{*} no doubt by their garments, as affectionately clinging to them.

Fourthly; but the great blessing of baptism or bringing to the faith, was that which St. Peter so beautifully expresses when addressing his new Christians, in the words adopted from him by St. Augustine, in speaking to the newly baptized, calling them, "a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people; that you may declare," he adds, "His virtues, who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light."^{*} While the miracles that regard other bodily organs and powers may be considered as accessories, this bestowing of the grace of Faith, the foundation of all other virtues, must be considered as the very essence of baptismal regeneration, and is truly the bringing of blind nature to the "marvellous light of God." Hence in the baptismal service of the Church it is frequently alluded to, under this image. In the very opening prayer, with his hand placed on the child's or catechumen's head, the priest thus speaks:—"All blindness of heart drive from him, break the bonds of Satan in which he hath been bound." And again, more solemnly, and with the same important action, he prays as follows:—"I entreat Thy eternal and most just pity, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, author of light and

^{*} Acts iii. 1-11.

^{*} 1 Pet. ii. 9.

truth, on behalf of this Thy servant N., that Thou wilt vouchsafe to enlighten him with Thine intellectual light." And this in the baptism of adults, is preceded by an abjuration of Satan, in these words: "For He commandeth thee, accursed one for ever lost! who opened the eyes of the man born blind." Finally, in the same service we have the following prayer: "I beseech Thee, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, that to this thy servant N., who wanders uncertain and doubtful in the night of this world, Thou wilt command the way of Thy truth, and of knowledge of Thee to be shown; that the eyes of his heart being opened, he may know Thee, one God, the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, with the Holy Ghost,"¹ &c.

These passages will prove sufficiently, how strong the analogy is in the mind of the Church between the giving of sight to the bodily blind, and of faith to the unbaptized. Among the rites familiar to our Saviour as a means of cure, was that of laying His hands upon the patient, a ceremony which may be said to have become especially sacramental. This was employed by Him in curing the blind; and in one instance remarkably:—"And taking the blind man by the hand, He led him out of the town; and spitting upon his eyes, laying His hand upon him, He asked him if he saw anything. And looking up, he said: I see men, as it were trees walking. After that, again He laid His hands upon his eyes, and he began to see and was restored, so that he saw all things clearly."² Now we have seen how just twice, in the administration of baptism, the priest places his hand upon the

¹ We can only refer to the Roman Ritual or Pontifical, where the two baptismal services are given, for these various extracts.

² Mark viii. 22-26.

child, with a prayer for the removal of blindness at the first, and for the granting of light at the second time.

But another instance is more remarkable. When Saul is overtaken by the merciful judgment of God, on the road to Damascus, he is struck blind. Was this merely to humble and subdue his haughty spirit, to tame him, like a blinded eagle, plucked down in his first flight for prey? Or is there not also in this, a deeper symbolic meaning, to show him how the power of the Church's ministry, while it cured his corporal blindness, gave his soul also intellectual light? For Ananias coming in to baptize him, "laying his hands upon him," said: "Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus hath sent me . . . that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight; and rising up he was baptized."^x Now here we have the very miracle of blindness cured, connected with the baptismal rite: nay, more, to all appearance, blindness inflicted, on purpose to show the close analogy between the two, and to bring the visible miracle in confirmation of the invisible.

Our Lord Himself, however, has directly given us the most interesting example of this connection. We have before referred to the detailed account preserved by St. John, of the cure of a blind man. In this instance our blessed Saviour first made use of the mysterious ceremony described by St. Mark. For, "He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and spread the clay upon his eyes." This, one might have supposed, would have sufficed to complete the cure. And so it would have done, had He so willed it. But, undoubtedly to teach a lesson, of which we ought to learn the import, He "said to him: Go wash [bathe]

^x Acts ix. 18.

in the pool of Siloe, which is interpreted, Sent. He went therefore, and washed, and he came seeing.”⁷ If Jesus desired to symbolize the miraculous action of baptism as we have described it, as giving the divine light of Faith supernaturally to the soul, He could not have done it more completely than in this, the most minutely recounted of all His cures wrought on the blind. The anointing of the eyes, for so the text describes it,⁸ was only made a preliminary ceremony, like the unction with the oil of catechumens in our baptism; but the cure was completed by the waters—not of the Jordan, the waters of John, but of the bathing-pool of Siloe, the waters of the Messiah. And even this choice is most expressive, when we take into account the Jewish belief concerning it, that it was the most efficacious bath for purification from legal defilement.⁹ Not even Cæsar’s celebrated report, “Veni, vidi, vici,” expressed more emphatically the rapidity of his conquest, than does the blind man’s narrative, the instantaneousness of his cure. “That man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed my eyes, and said to me: Go to the pool of Siloe, and wash. *And I went, I washed, and I see.*” No wonder that the ancient Christians should have applied to the baptistery, the very word used in this passage, calling it among other names, the *κολυμβήθρα* or swimming-bath: doubtless from this very passage.

⁷ John ix. 6, 7.

⁸ *Ἐπέχρισε*, v. 6. The act here described, like that before quoted from St. Mark viii. 23, will appear in no ways strange to those who are aware how much a similar practice was in use among the Jews, and other nations antiquity. See Wetstein *in loc.*

⁹ “Even if he should wash himself in the waters of Siloam . . . he would not obtain complete cleanness.”—Talm. Hieros. Ibid. Where see also, on v. 6, the Jewish denunciation against anointing the eyes, or rubbing them with saliva on the Sabbath. Compare v. 13.

All that we have said will receive confirmation from a beautiful passage in Isaias, and will, in return, throw light upon it. It is the following:—"God Himself will come, and will save you. Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as the hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall be free. *For waters are broken out in the desert, and streams in the wilderness. . . .* And a path and a way shall be there, and it shall be called the holy way; the unclean shall not pass over it; and this shall be unto you a straight way, so that fools shall not err therein they shall walk there that shall be delivered."^b It is to spiritual ailments alone that allusion can here be made.

It may well appear superfluous to add, that only in Catholic baptism is a counterpart discoverable, to the class of miracles which we have united together, as they generally are classified in the Gospels. The exorcisms and other prayers, which we have quoted, have disappeared from the Protestant Liturgy; all intimation of belief in effects parallel to those miracles of our Lord will be sought there in vain. But not only in the formularies, but in the opinions, of the Anglican system, there is a total absence of the doctrine necessary to establish such a parallelism as we have traced. We are sure that Faith is there neither spoken of, nor considered, as a gift of God, an infused virtue, actually and instantly communicated to the soul in baptism—into the soul even of an infant. Faith with Protestants is a profession of a mode of thought; thought being an act of the individual. Hence, in Confirmation, the Anglican system looks to personal profession of what had been professed by

^b Is. xxv. 4-9.

proxy, in baptism. But there is no actual belief (unless it be in the ideal church which lurks in the closets of Oxford theologians) that the child had, from baptism, possessed an inherent, true, and orthodox faith. Hence the first question in the Catholic Ritual, put to the catechumen is, "N., What dost thou ask of the Church of God?" and the answer is, "Faith." That the Anglican theory, even when elevated to the highest stage of High-churchism, has no perception of this most important point of the doctrine of baptism, will appear from this,—that none more than Oxford theorists try to deter ladies and young men from becoming Catholics, by telling them that thereby they will be renouncing "the Church of their baptism." For such a phrase can only signify, that in baptism they were incorporated into the English establishment, as a body distinct from the *orbis terrarum* Church, or the Catholic Church in communion with Rome. For if Anglicanism be part of the one universal Church, such an expression is as unmeaning and as absurd, as if one were to say to a man, "Do not become a British subject lest you cease to be a citizen of London;" or to a soldier, "Do not join the body of the army, lest, thereby, you renounce your regiment." The phrase, therefore, means, that Anglicanism is so distinct from Catholicity, as that the baptism of the one is not that of the other. Now for this to be, either the baptized child receives no faith, or it receives faith according to the holding of Anglicanism, as distinct from that of the Catholic Church; and that is clearly no faith at all. The only sense to be attached to such a now "cant phrase" is:—"In baptism you made *profession* of Anglicanism, and it is sinful in you to depart from that *profession*." And this meaning is rendered more evident by the fact, that they who use it *profess* Angli-

canism, but make no scruple of *believing* Catholicity. The expression is another Protestant novelty: we are only surprised that it had not been forestalled by the Donatists. It makes the Church more like the corporation of a close borough, than the empire of God over the whole world.

The Catholic Church on the other hand, considering baptism as the *Janua Ecclesiæ*,—"the gate of the Church," considers every one validly (even though unlawfully) baptized, as a member of the true Church, a Catholic, possessing sound faith, as well as other infused virtues, and as continuing so until some contradictory act destroys the virtue, and transfers the unhappy victim to the dominion of error, schism, or heresy. Look well to this, ye high-church teachers; every one of you, if duly baptized, has once, in the estimation of the Catholic, Universal, One Church, been a member of it. Each of you has left it by an act of apostasy! and your children whom you have with your own hands baptized, that the sacred rite might not be made void by the profane carelessness of its daily administration around you, these yet innocent prattling little ones are still ours, in communion with the holy Church of God throughout the world. When the day comes that you, more in doubt than is consistent with safety, about your own position, shall pour into their docile ears, the poison of a heresy which you regret, shall make them believe that Jesus Christ has left no one united Church on earth, or that He commanded not communion with Peter, or that the titular of your diocese is a descendant of the apostles, or that Mary should not be invoked, or that baptism made them Anglican, or that there is no real corporeal presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, or that priestly absolution is not of necessity for pardon of sins; or

should the day come (for strange things do now happen), when you will teach exactly the contrary, and tell your children that your Church (as you call it) holds every one of the opposite doctrines, just as Catholics do, and so cheat them verily into an heretical profession of orthodox doctrine; when that day comes, know ye, that you will be guilty of a parricidal act; you will pluck from off your children's body that white garment of innocence (for heresy is sin), which in every real baptism is spiritually placed upon the neophyte; you will snatch the burning lamp of orthodox faith from their hands; you will tear off the garland of joyful adoption which true baptism placed upon their heads. You will do worse; you will reverse the wonders of baptism; you will undo its miracle. You will blind the eyes that have been once opened, seal up the ears again that have been unstopped, tie up the tongue that has been loosened, and cripple the limbs that have been made whole. Oh! think of this, before it becomes too late. You, whose minds are tempest-tossed, uncertain of your faith, who perhaps flatter yourselves with the hope that unity may yet be restored, and you may be carried safely by the gulf-stream into the haven of Catholic rest; you, who will not venture to say that no occurrence may happen that will unmoor you from your present position, and drive you into our Church; you, above all, who say, that while you believe it to be your duty to remain where God has placed you, you would rejoice had His Providence from the beginning rooted you in the Catholic Church, who "would give anything" to have been always a Catholic. Spare your own pains, your own stings, your own tortures, to those you love; forego the delusion that you can educate your children Catholics in an Anglican church, or an

Anglican parsonage; frankly and generously give them up to the only mother that will train them holily; make them pledges of your love, which you give not to your own system; send your treasures where you profess your heart to be, that the two be together, and you give not the lie to truth. Yes, we boldly repeat it, there are many now in Anglicanism, who cannot, without fearful sin, allow their children to be brought up in it, for they have not the excuse of a false conscience. Their only escape is, to let them continue safe in the Church of their baptism, the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

II. *Penance*.—It will not be necessary to delay the reader longer upon the other Sacraments. The application of our Lord's miracles to them will be less complicated. If those afflictions which disable man for work, which afflict him from his birth, which visit him rather as negations or privations of good than as a positive withdrawal of what has been held, and which were in Christ's time united often with demoniacal possession, seem most aptly to apply, as figures, to unregenerated man; those ailments and diseases which befall him in his course of life, and often end in death, may be taken to symbolize those spiritual distempers which he brings upon his soul by sin. Indeed, so accurately could the resemblance be traced, that particular complaints might be easily compared to particular sins or vices. Even the heathen poet could read the parallel between the avaricious mind and him who

“Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops.”

Anger is a fever of the mind, anxious care its gnawing canker, jealousy its jaundice, pride its plethory, sloth its atrophy.

But we will confine ourselves to three of the lashes of that scourge which fell upon man when first he sinned.

1. The first of these is palsy. It is not unfrequently the consequence of excess, and it reduces the man to a helpless condition : it deprives him often of utterance, it incapacitates him for work. It makes him, as far as possible, what we have before described, as symbolizing the state of fallen man. What more exact image of what man does to his own soul by sin ? He makes it a palsy-stricken, prostrate, trembling, helpless, useless, wretched thing. The cure recorded by the three first Evangelists,* of a paralytic man, is especially interesting for this, that it is evidently recorded to establish the Catholic doctrine on forgiveness of sins. The patient is brought before our Saviour, by being let down through the roof ; and instead of being at once healed, he is addressed in these words : " Man, thy sins are forgiven thee." Now, this mode of acting no doubt proceeded from the charity and goodness of Jesus, who, like a skilful physician, would not deal with a lesser malady while there was a greater in possession. But the words were, most assuredly, designedly spoken. They were intended to provoke a grave objection, and to afford an occasion to answer it : and that answer was to be of solemn and dear importance to us. They indicate, moreover, how the sight of the man's corporal affliction brought to our Lord's mind his spiritual and unseen state. For else, wherefore did He not address the same words to any of the bystanders, who may have needed, as no doubt most did, this timely pardon ? But this poor wretch's prostrate frame and quivering limbs were to Him but the lively image of a soul overthrown and disabled by

* Matt. ix. 6 ; Mark ii. 10 ; Luke v. 24.

sin. Some Protestant commentators have considered this expression equivalent to a declaration of cure; but it is clear that the effect of restoration to bodily health did not ensue. We must, therefore, conclude, that true remission of sins was here granted; and the more, because the very same words are used, as were on occasion of Magdalene's forgiveness.^d The Jews inwardly think, that our Lord blasphemes, by arrogating a power which belongs exclusively to God. "Who is this that speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God alone?" Had He merely cured the poor man, they would not have raised the objection. They had seen Him cure plenty of such: but, evidently, they considered the power of healing spiritual maladies so much higher and greater, that they could not allow the one necessarily to involve the other. He, therefore, meets their thoughts; and answers: "Which is easier to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and walk? But that you may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (He saith to the sick of the palsy,) I say to thee Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house."^e Our Lord Himself may be said here to draw the resemblance; first, between the two ailments,—the body's and the soul's; and secondly, between the cure of the one and that of the other, between the healing of a grievous malady, and the forgiveness of sin. He, moreover, establishes the adequacy of the resemblance, comparing them as acts of power, and showing how one was of the same nature as the other—each a miracle. If, then, to the apostles He gave this very power—"heal the sick;"^f and if afterwards, as though almost alluding to this very passage, and using the same words, He repeats the assertion of His own power on earth, and com-

^d Luke vii. 48.^e Ib. v. 23, 24.^f Matt. x. 8.

municates it to them, to the extent of exercising, that which He cured the palsied man to claim—the forgiving of sins,^s we may surely conclude that this prerogative was received by them in a sense, which perfectly made it correspond to the miraculous gifts conferred on them. And who doubts that of the two, the spiritual healing was a much greater boon from Christ our Lord than the visible and corporal? Who doubts that, “thy sins are forgiven thee,” though to men as easy to say, was a far greater mercy, than “arise, take up thy bed?” Had the latter alone been spoken, it might have been the prolongation only of a life of sin, and an accumulation of condemnation, that would have ensued. Had the former only, they would have secured to the sick man, at least, an everlasting life. And as the boon, so was the power from which it flowed.

Here then, we have the parallel exactly established between a visible act of supernatural power, and an invisible exercise of an equal, or greater, power. When the Apostles raised a paralytic, all the multitude would applaud, as they no doubt did when St. Peter, almost in the same words as his divine Master, said to Eneas, “who was ill of the palsy,” “Arise, and make thy bed; and immediately he arose.”^h But they did much more, and no one saw it,

^s Compare “the Son of Man hath *power on earth to forgive sins*,” with “*all power* is given to me in heaven *and on earth*” (Matt. xxviii. 18), and, “as the Father sent me [*on earth*], so do I send you. Whose *sins* you shall *forgive*, they are *forgiven* them” (John xx. 21, 23). The words in italic are the same, in the different passages, in the original.

^h Acts ix. 38. While this miracle presents a resemblance to the healing of the palsied man in the Gospel, the account which immediately follows it (the raising of Tabitha), has no less resemblance to the raising of the daughter of Jairus. (Matt. ix. 23.)

when, in virtue of their higher commission, they forgave a man his sins. This parallel leads us to the following conclusion. 1st. The commission to forgive sins was, in regard to the soul, what the charge to heal the sick, here fulfilled by St. Peter, was with respect to the body. 2ndly. It was to be exercised by a specific act, as was the raising of the paralytic. 3rdly. It was to be not declaratory but efficacious. 4thly. It was to be followed by instantaneous effect. The sinner was to be as truly forgiven, on the words being pronounced, as the sick man was well, when he had heard the command to arise. Surely it is only in the Catholic Church that all this has reality; or even that any one believes that there exists, vested in the successors of the Apostles, a power which permits of such a comparison with the cure performed by our blessed Redeemer.

2. It would be wasting our reader's time to endeavour to prove that the leprosy was a fitting emblem of sin. This fitness arises from the character of the disease; it is an uncleanness as well as a malady. It commenced generally by a small spot: if not checked, it increased and spread; it eat into the live flesh, it separated the limbs at the joints, and it finally caused death. It was, moreover, deemed infectious, and thus further resembled sin. But in addition, it was not left to be treated by the physician; but it was placed especially under the jurisdiction of the priests. To them the person, conscious of the disease, had to present, and to denounce, himself. They had the minutest rules to guide them, in forming their judgment, and pronouncing on the complaint. If they did not declare the patient clean, they put off his case for some days longer, and he again submitted to sacerdotal judgment. Even if he were now declared free,

he had to perform certain acts; as washing his garments, before he rejoined his people. But when the defilement was certain, and the disease manifest, he was separated from the people; he wore a peculiar garb; he lived without the camp or city; and he cried out to every passer-by, that he was unclean. Then, if at last restored to health, many mysterious rites had to be performed: the principal or final one of which was, that he should "take a lamb and offer it up as a trespass offering," and "immolate the lamb where the victim for sin is wont to be immolated, and the holocaust; that is, in the holy place."¹ All this was done after the leper had been allowed to return to the communion of his fellow-citizens.

We cannot be surprised that the ancient Church should universally have considered this malady as the most natural type of sin in the individual; as the privations of sense in our former classification were, of the sin of the whole race. Leprosy and sin are almost synonymous in ecclesiastical language, even where the bodily affection itself was unknown. But to see fully the accuracy of the resemblance, we should view it as demonstrated in the discipline of the ancient Church. There the sinner, as now, when conscious of transgression, presented himself to the priest of God. But in those days of fervour, this minister of justice, as of mercy, took into deliberate consideration the offence committed; and, while he admitted to forgiveness, and slighter works of purification, the lesser offender, sentenced the more guilty to public separation from the faithful, and severe expiation of his crime. His leprosy was revealed to all by his penitential garb; and how strikingly resembling the treatment of the leper must his case have appeared,

¹ Levit. xiii. xiv.

as he stood at the gate of the church, telling all that entered in, that he was a sinner, unworthy to join them in communion of sacred offices. Then, when the time came for pardon, the priest once more spoke, and pronounced him clean: And what was his first act? Surely, as it is now, with every penitent in the Catholic Church, to hasten to the holy place, to assist at the immolation of the Lamb slain for sin, and there partake of the sacred victim. And although that outward separation from the faithful, which served to make the parallel so perfect, has now ceased in the discipline of the Church, yet all that is essential has remained; so that to this day, "to distinguish between leprosy and leprosy," is a familiar expression in writers instructing the priest, how to discern, and deal with, sin.

It will not be surprising that our Saviour should have dealt with this distemper as distinct from other ailments. The cleansing of lepers is distinguished from other works of power, both in the narrations of the Evangelists, and in His own enumeration of such acts.* In His commission to His apostles, this is mentioned as one of the powers committed to them. But He was pleased to show, how He did not allow even the exercise of His miraculous power to supersede the provisions of His law. Accordingly we find, that in every instance, distinctly recorded of His healing this complaint, He sends the patients to the priest, to receive from him, ratification as it were, of the cure which He had performed. Whether He first completed it, or left the recovery to appear after, He gave them the same command.¹ Now if leprosy represented sin, and the miraculous healing of it showed

* Matt. x. 8; xi. 5; Luke vii. 22.

¹ Matt. viii. 4; Mark i. 44; Luke v. 14; xvii. 12.

forth the pardon of sin in the Church, this peculiar attention to the law which over Him had no force, most aptly serves to complete the resemblance; by showing how, if even in the figure He would have the interposition of the priestly ministry, so much more does He require it, in the fulfilment, which He has made one of the very highest duties and prerogatives of the sacerdotal office.

In describing the treatment of sin in the Church, compared with the treatment of leprosy in the old law, we have shown how exactly the type finds its accomplishment in the former. And we see how the inward cleansing from sin, by the word of the priest, corresponds exactly with the action of Christ, when, in commanding phrase, he simply says: "I will: be made clean." But if it is exclusively a Catholic practice and doctrine thus to make forgiveness of sin dependent on the exercise of an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; if it be solely with us that the leper must come before him who has to heal him, and declare himself unclean, as such did with our Lord; how boldly Catholic is that further analogy with what He practised, which consists in compelling even those whom God Himself has pardoned, to show themselves to His priests, make known even forgiven transgression, and hear his sentence, though in this case anticipated, rather than ratified, in heaven. For while no one, even in the Anglican system, dares to make confession compulsory, in even extreme cases, but some admit it as one mode of obtaining pardon, the Catholic Church admits of no exception. Let the sinner, pierced, not by lightning of God's judgment, but by the very arrows of His love; plunged, not into an abyss of despair, but into an ocean of sweetest confidence, burst his very heart in penitent sorrow;

let it be full and deep as that of David, when Nathan pronounced his forgiveness:^m tender and gushing as that of Magdalene, when Jesus spoke her pardon: let it be that perfect contrition which bespeaks instant remission; yet he hears a voice, as he rises from the outpouring of his grief, which tells him: "Go, show thyself to the priest." He knows it has been a condition of his forgiveness (if he can presume to hope it has been already granted), that he should submit to the keys of the Church, manifest his past frailty, and receive the only assurance of reconciliation and restored grace, in this life—the absolution of Christ's minister. In fact, so perfectly does the Church Catholic act up to this example of her Lord, and believe in the lesson which He gave for curing the leprosy, that she admits no contrition to be perfect, which does not contain confession *in voto*, in desire and intention. Most faithfully, then, does she copy His practice, in exercising the marvellous power confided to her, of healing the leprosy of the soul.

3. It would seem to us even more superfluous than in our last illustration of sacramental penance, to trace the resemblance between its exercise, and the raising by our Lord of the dead to life. A few brief remarks will suffice to sketch it, as peculiarly belonging to us.

One of the offices of the Holy Spirit in the Church, is to "convince the world of sin,"ⁿ that is, among other effects, to give a right understanding of its nature. In the Old Law it was merely considered as a transgression, a violation of a precept, for which anger and punishment were to be expected from God. The inward havoc of sin in the soul is not to be found described or alluded to, even in the fervent outpourings

^m 2 Reg. xii. 13.

ⁿ John xvi. 8, 9.

of sorrow which David first manifested. The spiritual life, as we have before observed, was but obscurely and imperfectly understood. If we may use so strong an expression, sin, once committed, was external to the sinner, it was a reckoning which he had to make with God. It lay at his door,^o it would be a lion on his path,^p but it was not the inward domestic enemy; it was not disease, canker, blight, and ruin. With the doctrine of Grace, which Christianity first revealed, came the knowledge that the soul has a life by that gift, the loss of which involves spiritual death. And Grace is forfeited by deadly sin. This is a language familiar to a Catholic child, taught in every catechism; hence, to the eye of faith, a soul in such guilt is as truly dead as is a corpse to that of the body: and the contemplation of it, moving amidst the occupations and affections of life, presents as hideous a spectacle as would a body with unmoving features, sunless eyes, blanched lips, and icy limbs, gliding silent through the merry dance. There is a reality attached to this thought of spiritual death, in a Catholic mind, which shows itself in many ways. For example, a mother like St. Monica does not express "her regret that her dear son should be so wild, but hopes he will become steadier," as many a modern parent would speak of the *vices* of a son, and think she had paid a tribute to virtue; but she weeps bitter tears, and follows him from land to land, and fasts and prays, and pines in grief; and why? Her son expresses it to the life: "Me multos annos fleverat, ut oculis suis viverem."^q She believed, nay she knew, him to be spiritually dead; and she wept over him as a widow does over her dead only child. Hence, the Church most becomingly

^o Gen. iv. 8.^p Confess. lib. ix. c. 12.^q Eccclus. xxvii, 11, 31; xxviii. 27.

appropriates to her festival (May 4th), the history of Christ's raising the son of the widow of Naim,^r as beautifully symbolical of the conversion of her son ; and further reads his own commentary upon it, in the office, applying the narrative to the restoration of the soul to life. And what else is the secret of penitent grief, such as St. John Climacus describes among the solitaries of Egypt, such as every Charter-house, or Cistercian abbey could exhibit, and yet does ; where men, who have every reason to hope that pardon has been vouchsafed them, will continue, for long years, to mourn and do penance ; but that deep earnest conviction of sin and its detestable enormity, which makes them loathe its defilement, abhor its impiety, and dread its deadly stroke ? which from very love of God, makes the estrangement from Him which it causes, the deadly cold obstruction which it opposes to His life-giving graces, a state as fearful as that of bodily dissolution and corruption ?

This sentiment is not to be found in Protestantism ; it is contrary to its very first principles. First ; such effects as we have described, are not witnessed nor approved there. To weep, to mourn, to afflict the body, to fast, are *works*, and are familiarly considered opposed to justification by faith. Hence there is no provision for them ; no religious solitudes, no penitential communities, are to be found where Protestantism prevails. As things to be plundered, stripped and beaten down, it knows of them ; but not as things to be admired and upheld. Hence, secondly, it is astonishing how easily a load of sins is supposed, in the Protestant, and consequently in the Anglican, system, to be got rid of. Suppose a man, a noble one for example, to have been notorious, through years, for

^r Luke vii. 11.

open and scandalous vice, addicted to shameless immoralities before the world: well, if growing gray, he begins to go about the neighbourhood in his phaeton, leaving Bibles at every cottage, and giving tracts to every village dame, and fits up the family pew, and becomes president of the county auxiliary Bible Society, and presides at May meetings in the season, the scarlet of his youthful sins becomes at once white as his locks of snow; and no one, any more than himself, thinks of sorrow and tears, as having been necessary to make him—a saint. But, thirdly, we find a marked abhorrence in Protestant writers, of the distinction between mortal and venial sin. They reject the very idea of there being such a thing: they hold the stoic maxim that “all sins are equal.” What is the necessary consequence? That there is no apprehension of any deadly character in *any* sin. For who can bring himself to imagine, that a passing thought of anger, or a hurried word of impatience, or a trifling act of unkindness, kills the soul and robs it of grace? Then, how can the more grievous act of deliberate crime do so, seeing that it is no greater sin? There is only one escape, that such failings as we have mentioned are not sins at all; and hence comes a dulness of conscience, and a heaviness of perception, respecting sin, which soon extends to more heinous transgressions. For the greatest security against mortal, is the dread of venial offences.

The view, then, of sin, which makes death its most perfect symbol, even in this life, is distinctly Catholic. And thus the raising of the dead is most eminently representative, with us, of the ministerial power to forgive the sinner. Hence, in the three instances of resurrection recorded in the Gospel, there is scarcely a

* Cicero, *Paradoxa*.

circumstance related which does not strike the Catholic's mind, as containing an analogy with what he sees in the sacrament of penance. And they whose ministry is employed in it, will, more than others, feel the resemblances. We will rapidly enumerate them.

1. There are three dead raised, each of whom represents a different class of sinners. The first is just dead—the beginning of sin: the second is being carried to the grave—the commencing of habitual transgression: the third is buried and lying in corruption—the obstinate and forgetful sinner. With each of these the priest has to deal; and he finds in each a practical lesson.

2. The first is indeed a corpse, but the minstrel and the multitude are still around it—the world and its vanities ministering to the dead spirit! When He that would raise it to life approaches it, and speaks of His wish, they laugh Him to scorn. They must be put away; silence and quiet are necessary to raise the soul. Peter is there with his keys, James with his earnest zeal, and John with his gentle charity. A kindly hand is stretched out, and in the power of that hand the dead one rises. And what shall be done next with her, that is, with the soul? He who has raised her, “bids them give her to eat.”¹ As there was a banquet when the prodigal returned, as there was feasting and rejoicing when the stray sheep was brought back, so surely must there be a rich and dainty repast, to refresh the dear daughter of the house, restored to life. Did the mother spare that day, her sweetest confections? Did the ruler of the synagogue stint of his richest cellarage, to warm his child's frame, or to make his congratulating guests

¹ Matt. ix. 23; Luke viii. 55. Compare the two accounts.

rejoice? And shall the Church, to whose motherly care the revived soul is committed, be less parent-like than they? Will not she have her banquet too, ready? and for the hour, is not she the dearest to her, who has been the most cruelly severed from her, of her children? and is not the feast for her especially? Surely so, as it was for the prodigal. And how strange, but how beautiful, that, as if intending to show us the identity of the two lessons, in the parable and the miracle, our Lord should have made the prodigal's father say: "Let us eat and make merry; because *this my son was dead, and is come to life again*; was lost, and is found."^u The dead raised, and the prodigal returned, are one and the same: and both must be refreshed and feasted. This is, indeed, what the Catholic Church alone understands.

3. The second has left home, the house of the weeping mother: strong ones are bearing him to the grave. A stronger hand must arrest them in this cruel errand. At its touch, they that carry must needs stand still: a more powerful command is uttered and the dead youth rises from his bier. What shall be done with *him*? What the Samaritan did with the poor wounded man, after he had dressed his wounds. He gave him in charge to the innkeeper, to provide for all his wants. And here there is one by, the one by whose tears Jesus was moved to exert His power, far better than the innkeeper—for she is his mother. "And He gave him to his mother."^x There is something inexpressibly sweet in this expression. Was he not hers before? Had death broken the filial tie, and did it need to be renewed? No, but a new and tenderer relation was established: by birth she had rights over him; but the second life which Jesus bestowed

^u Luke xv. 24.

^x Ib vii. 15.

was His: and His rights He resigned to her. He was to be doubly her child, because he was a second time given to her by Him: and he had, from henceforward, to pay to her the gratitude, the obedience, and the filial love, which He might have claimed for Himself. Yes, truly; He has given repentant sinners to His Church, as the tenderest part of her charge. And to the ear of loving children there is an under-sound in this phrase, mystically soothing and consoling. "And He gave him to his mother," sounds so like a prelude to the sweetest words ever uttered on Calvary? For how else could He *give* a son to his mother, but by saying:—"Woman, behold thy son?"^y

4. Finally, Lazarus has been four days in the grave: "Quatriduanus est, jam foetet," say his own sisters, who are not likely to exaggerate the foulness of his condition. And here groans and supplications are necessary, and the uplifting of heavy obstructions, and the drawing forth from corruption of the dead thing, that once was a living man, by a strong command; and then comes the loosing him from his bands, as he starts to life. How distinctly allusive to the power to bind and to loose are these words:—"And presently he that had been dead came forth, *bound* feet and hands with winding bands, and his face was *bound* about with a napkin. Jesus said to them: *Loose* him, and let him go."^z He did not do so Himself, but He commissioned others. *They* have to loose for Him those bound in the *laquei mortis*,—"the toils of death." And where do we next meet Lazarus? Precisely where we might expect. At Bethania "they made Jesus a supper, and Martha served; but *Lazarus was one of them that was at table with Him.*"^a It is

^y John xix. 26.^z Ib. xi. 44.^a Ib. xii. 2.

always the same—the banquet for the recovered dear one. But here it is quite defined : he who a few days before was dead, was lying reeking in corruption—even he is at table with Jesus. O holy, sweet, loving Church of God ! How we recognize thee at every step, in the workings of love divine among men ! Unchanged as Himself, thy Spouse and Master, forgetting not one of His examples, dropping not one of His blessed words, how dost thou renew, day by day, the beauty of His character reflected in thee, and the splendour of His institutions, ever fresh in thy right hand !

It is an invidious, and we sincerely believe, a hopeless task, to examine the claims of others to similar coincidences. They may say that all these minute comparisons are fanciful and arbitrary. There is an easy test. Show that they can be made in some other system, and we will own it. If not, whence comes it that the Catholic system alone,—yea, the corrupt, the superstitious, the silly, the unspiritual system of Popery,—should furnish throughout, not a faint resemblance, but a minute, distinct, and lively counterpart, to what our Saviour did in His greatest works on earth ?

III. *Extreme Unction*.—It is worthy of note, that St. Mark, who generally is considered to follow closely St. Matthew, should alone have preserved for us three instances of cures by external rites. Two we have already seen, in the restoring to health of a blind, and of a deaf and dumb, man.^b The third remains ; and to Catholics is most interesting. It is the following :—The apostles “ cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.”^c This calls to mind the well-known text of St. James :—

^b Ib. vii. 34 ; viii. 23.

^c Mark vi. 13.

“Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him.”^a The resemblance of this text, of St. Mark’s narrative, suggests at once to the Catholic the type of Extreme Unction in these first apostolic miracles. A few remarks will here suffice.

1. We do not find recorded anywhere, directions from our Saviour to His apostles, to use this means of cure. Yet though three Evangelists (including St. Mark) give us in detail His instructions, and this practice of anointing is not mentioned by any, we cannot hesitate for a moment to believe that it was prescribed by Himself. This will show us how His institution must be assumed in other cases, where we find practised by His disciples what we do not read to have been commanded. When, therefore, St. James enjoins, unhesitatingly, the anointing by the priest, as to be followed by remission of sins; as we must suppose the miraculous cures wrought by the unction, to be proof of divine appointment, so we may well conclude, that the more wonderful effect of forgiveness of sins could not have been attributed to the same act, unless an equally supreme sanction and promise had been attached to it. It was, therefore, a sacramental action; and as such permanent.

2. We may consider this an established principle, that what was instituted for men’s souls was to remain; what was instituted for their temporal benefits was temporary. We have an example in the appointment of deacons. On the face of the institution, it was to serve a merely casual and secular

^a James v. 14.

purpose, "to serve tables," or distribute alms.* But it becomes evident from St. Paul's description of the diaconal character,[†] that they who received it were invested with an ecclesiastical dignity; and they were ordained by imposition of the apostles' hands.[‡] The Anglican establishment has reasoned wisely in this case, that, though the temporal functions of the deacons have ceased, it does not follow that the institution itself ended with them, even though they were the immediate cause of the appointment. What was temporal was temporary, and no longer continues; but the spiritual gifts and duties subsist to the end. In like manner it has reasoned rightly (though it has sadly failed in application of its reasoning), that what was *purely* miraculous in divine commission, was a personal gift to the apostles; what was of spiritual benefit to the Church, was to descend to their successors. But it could not see in St. James's text the same distinction, and separate the spiritual benefits of forgiveness of sins, from the raising up of the sick man; and consider the one as enduring, the other as, *perhaps*, temporary. Yet a clear analogy would have led any one of sense, unblinded by puritanical hatred of forms, so to conclude.

3. But the Catholic Church has no need of such explanations. She takes the text as it is; as the fulfilment of the whole of Christ's promise. The apostles are to do His works, and greater than His visible works; and in the Catholic doctrine of Extreme Unction, this is believed by us to be done. That bodily health is frequently restored by it, no experienced priest doubts from his own observation, independently of the Church's teaching. This is the work equal to Christ's. That sins are forgiven by the sacrament, no

* Acts vi. 2.

† 1 Tim. iii. 8.

‡ Acts vi. 6.

Catholic is allowed to doubt. This is the work greater than men saw Him do on earth. It was the same when St. James wrote. The miraculous, the visible, the striking effect was allowed to continue the more marked and attractive. But who that judges, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual,"^h will for a moment imagine, that in St. James's mind, the raising to health could have been considered a primary effect of any institution or rite, which at the same time gave pardon of sin? Or that this, when certain of effect, and consequently most salutary to man, could ever have been held secondary to the healing of the body? Those who have seen that beautiful spectacle, the sudden kindling up of St. Peter's in Rome, at Easter night's illumination, will remember how in each lamp was a heap of light inflammable materials, which, touched by the torch, instantly blazed brilliantly forth, but quickly faded. This was not the lamp destined to burn through the night, but was only meant to light this up. For when the first flash had subsided, the steady light which succeeded it, though far less dazzling, fed upon unfailing nourishment, and, in spite of wind or rain, burnt unflinching to the end. Such was this, such were other institutions. Two lights were kindled at the same moment; but one obscured, or over-shone the other. The first was the brilliant, miraculous gift; that of tongues in Confirmation, that of healing in Extreme Unction. These gifts were made for a time, and proved the reality of that constant, perpetual grace, which was for the while obscured by them. And when they were withdrawn, they left that other undying flame burning as brightly as at the beginning; for its invisible, unfailing oil, is the unction of the Anointed.

^h 1 Cor. ii. 13.

IV. *The Blessed Eucharist.* It would indeed have been strange, if miracles had been wanting to foreshow the miracle of spiritual miracles. But there are such, and most splendid, most perfect, and most beautifully illustrative of the Catholic doctrine. We will dwell upon these, though not at the length which the importance of the subject deserves.

1. Our blessed Lord Himself has furnished us with a clue to the connection between the first and His own institution. He who did nothing without a design, intended to communicate His doctrine respecting this food of life; and by way of preliminary, He led the people into the wilderness like Moses, and there miraculously fed them. Five thousand men, besides women and children, were fully satisfied with five loaves and two fishes. Nor was the feast exhausted. Twelve baskets of fragments of bread remained; and who doubts that these would have sufficed, as well as the original loaves, to feed as many more? The people saw the analogy between this feast, and that of manna in the desert; and through it, our Saviour led them to His heavenly discourse on the B. Eucharist. The three first Evangelists record this miracle, but not the doctrinal teaching which resulted from it.¹ Two of them relate a similar miracle, where four thousand were similarly fed.² The repetition of a miracle of such magnitude, seems intended, as it is calculated, to fix our thoughts upon it.

First. We must be struck with the motive of the miracle—it was compassion: “I have compassion on the multitude.” Who but the Catholic familiarly calls the Eucharist the “Sacrament of Love?” It is to others a commemorative right, intended to revive the

¹ Matt. xiv. 15; Mark vi. 42; Luke ix. 16; John vi. 11.

² Matt. xv. 32; Mark viii. 6.

memory of Christ's passion. But as an outpouring of divine affection, as the communication of God's love to man, it is only by us that it is regarded. We consider it instituted out of compassionate love for man, as medicine, as food, as a dainty, as support, as treasures, to strengthen and cheer him in the desert of this barren life.

Secondly. This miracle was not an individual one; not a prerogative or favour. It required no particular state, beyond appetite or desire, to receive it. Food was given to the strong man as to the feeble, to the healthy as to the sickly, to the young as to the old, to the rich as to the poor. One relished it keenly, another barely took it as sustenance; one enjoyed its flavour, another seemed scarcely to taste it. One expressed himself warmly in gratitude, another appeared barely thankful. But there it was for all, for the mere asking; and when it was over, it was hardly a thing to talk about. One would hardly boast of having partaken of that bread, as one would of having been restored to sight by Jesus; and men would not have gone to a distance to see a person who had eaten of that miraculous food, as they went to Bethania to see Lazarus, raised from the dead.¹ And this, because the miracle left no visible evidence after it; because it was for the benefit of so many (which only made it the greater), and because it bore such a homely aspect. Such also is the feeling with regard to the Blessed Eucharist. Its wonderful mysterious effects do not strike, nor unhappily excite the gratitude and admiration it deserves. But, like the bread of the desert, it is the food for all—"sumit unus, sumunt mille"—and is partaken of by all manner of characters,—the fervent and the lukewarm, the strong

¹ John xii. 9.

in grace and the feeble in desire, the rich in virtue, and the poor.

Thirdly. In this miracle, our Saviour does not act beyond, by His blessing, multiplying the bread. Its distribution He leaves to His apostles. They arrange the throng, they carry round the food, they give to each his share, they satisfy all, they treasure up the fragments; and lo! wonder of wonders; they reserve as much as they began with—the self-same food is ready for the next comers; and they may come in thousands, and it shall suffice.

Fourthly. The miracle thus meets one of the most popular objections against the Catholic doctrine concerning this sacrament, that many partake of the same food at the same time—"nec sumptus consumitur." For it is not said that our Lord created new bread, nor dilated what there was, so to speak. From beginning to end of the banquet, they were the same five loaves and two fishes, which were eaten by this hungry crowd, and the fragments left would have made up the same loaves and fishes again. Any other theory alters the character of the miracle. It would not be that our Lord fed 5,000 people *with five loaves*, but that having *but* five loaves, he created, say 4,995 more, to give each person one. In that case, there being five loaves at the beginning had nothing to do with the miracle; this consists in the creating of the others. Then, according to the Gospel narrative, more than five thousand persons were actually eating the same food, and each one had enough, and it was not consumed. How was this? The Catholic answer is plain and simple; in the same manner as it happens every day in the blessed Eucharist. One miracle is a counter part to the other.

2. Another great objection to the Catholic doctrine

of the blessed Eucharist, is directed against Transubstantiation. The change of one substance into another seems opposed to all our notions. And yet we believe modern chemistry is fast approaching to conclusions which will greatly modify that old pretended contradiction of science. Such a change is no doubt miraculous; and against this perpetuation of miracles Protestantism protests. But that is of its essence. Our dear Lord, therefore, was pleased to make the evidencing of such a transubstantiation His very first miracle.^m We will make but a few remarks upon it.

First. It was at a feast that He was first pleased to manifest Himself to the world. It was by a feast that He closed His ministerial career. At that first feast at Cana, He emerged from His first state, His hidden life; at the second, He passed again into its last stage, its sorrowful and afflicted close. The first was a marriage feast: and what was the last? Let loving spouses, like St. Catharine, or St. Rose, or St. Juliana answer. What must that feast be, at which, for the first time, is poured forth the "*vinum germinans virgines*?" How like are these two feasts!

Secondly. At the first feast the wine fails. Of water there is abundance; but the nobler beverage is wanting. How is the desire of the guests to be satisfied? By changing the ignoble into the noble, the water into wine. Here is the first stage of change, the first exercise of the transmuting power. What must the next naturally be? Wine was the richest, most generous, most invigorating of nature's productions. Earth could yield nothing more excellent than the vine and its fruit. The water, which filtering through the earth, is caught by its roots, elaborated into its sap, distilled into its grape, and there sweetened by the

^m John ii. 9.

sun, is raised in nature and qualities, in the estimation of men. Our blessed Lord, by one simple action, gave it that higher existence. Then *it* must now be changed again at the second feast. And for whom? For *us* who want—not wine, not earthly growth, of any sort. Man was surfeited of that, and called for better refreshment. If the first transubstantiation was so great and so worthy of the power that made it, what shall we find, into which the wine itself shall be changed? There is but one stream, a draught from which would refresh, renew, revive our fainting race; but who shall dare to ask it? It was of “the water out of the cistern that is in Bethlehem” (the house of bread), that David longed to drink; but he shuddered to partake, saying: “The Lord be merciful to me, that I may not do this: shall I drink the blood of these men?”^a And it is from the well-spring of Bethlehem that we too thirst to drink; but we must not shrink from the awful draught—the priceless *blood* of Him that opens it. No, there is only one change more that can be made; the wine must become a living flow from His divine heart. Only thus shall the second feast surpass the first.

Thirdly. But it will be said: “In the first miracle the change was visible, was tested by the senses; in the second, as Catholics believe it, this evidence is wanting. Here your parallel fails.” Quite the contrary. Hereby is shown the superiority of the second miracle. That which is worthy of a miracle to be its type, is proved thereby of a higher nature. If in the Eucharist the transubstantiation were sensible, there would have needed none to precede it at Cana. The latter would have been so far useless. But it is a much greater and higher miracle to have a change

^a 2 Reg. xxiii. 17.

made and yet concealed, than to have a visible and patent mutation. The latter could not be an object of faith; and objects of sense belong to the inferior order. The change was once made visibly, that God's power should be manifested, whenever He should please to make it invisibly. They who gainsay it in the latter case, say to Him: "Let it be as it was at Cana, and we will believe Thee: but in our theory they only are blessed who believe because they see."^o

3. The Eucharist, according to Catholic doctrine, perpetuates the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ on earth. He is in it, God and Man, in the fulness of His perfections. One remarkable quality of His sacred Person, when He lived a visible man, was, that virtue ever went from Him, and healed all.^p This unceasing flow of miraculous energy, this atmosphere of life which invested Him, as with a robe of majesty, the Church verifies, and may be said daily to feel. It is indeed hard to make this understood, for it belongs to the hidden influences of religion, more to be felt than to be expressed. But devout souls will know our meaning; they will have experienced the fervour, the peace, the confidence, the love which the mere presence of the B. Sacrament inspires, in prayer and meditation; the soothing and tranquillizing influence which It has on their troubled, and agitated, or anxious minds. What religious community would stand the privation of this society? On what would

^o Of *Matrimony* we will content ourselves with saying, that the Catholic rite is singularly and beautifully interwoven with the Mass or Eucharistic sacrifice, only similarly interrupted for the hallowing of the sacramental oils; as though to copy our Lord's example, of uniting the marriage-feast with the foreshadowing of the sacrament of the altar.

^p Matt. ix. 20; xiv. 36; Mark iii. 10; v. 30; Luke viii. 46.

the chaste love of the spouses of Jesus live, if they had not Him near them, and if after the Martha-like duties of their charity towards men, they could not often take the place of Mary at His feet, and there, in silent contemplation of His mercy, and graciousness, and loveliness, repair the slight distractions of the day, and refill their lamps with that love of God, which burns outwardly as charity for man?

That this influence of this adorable mystery is real, and not imaginary, is proved by its effects on those who know nothing of it. We could mention several cases of conversion from it; we will content ourselves with two, because we received them both from the mouths of those whom they regard.

The first is that of the late worthy and pious priest, the Rev. Mr. Mason. He had been a Wesleyan preacher for some years, and we heard him declare in a public sermon, to a large congregation, that his conversion was due mainly to this: that whenever he entered a Catholic church or chapel, he felt himself awed, hushed to silence, and compelled to kneel in adoration, though no worship was going on; whereas, in his own meeting-house, he never experienced any such feelings. Yet he was totally unconscious of the cause; and when he learnt the Catholic belief and practice, in regard to the B. Eucharist, he was so convinced of the adequacy of the cause of his emotions, that he hesitated not to yield to their evidence, and became a Catholic.

The second is that of the Baroness K——, well known to many for her abilities, her piety, and her many good works. She was a German Protestant, strongly imbued with prejudices against the Catholic religion. Coming to Rome, she entered the church of the Perpetual Adoration, where the B. Sacrament is

exposed to worship the whole day. She saw many people, in silent prayer, bowed down, or gazing intently towards the altar. Ignorant of the object which engaged their attention, observing only a multitude of lights upon the altar, but as yet without sense of His presence, "who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks,"^a she exclaimed: "Good God! surely these people are not adoring those tapers!" But she found herself, in spite of herself, gently forced upon her knees, and compelled to worship—she knew not what. She returned again and again, marvellously attracted, and ever with the same effect. It was a year before she discovered the truth, and became aware Who was there; and with gushing tears did she deplore to us, that year, as she called it, of grace resisted, and of time lost.

To some, perhaps to many of our readers, these things will sound foolish and fanatical; but there is a phrase that accounts for this. When Nathaniel would not believe that the Messiah could come from Nazareth, "Philip saith to him, *Come and see.*"^r And to this there is a corresponding one in the Old Testament: "Taste and see how sweet is the Lord."^s We have known a convert whom God soon transferred from her life of suffering, but of joy, here below, to one of unclouded bliss above, whom conversion at once changed from a pleasure-seeking worldling, into a devout and cheerful servant of God; who when debarred, herself, from approaching to holy communion, would gently draw close to those who came from receiving it, and feel a glow of comfort and a ray of happiness shed into her own heart—the virtue going forth from the sacred humanity

^a Apoc. ii. 1.

^r John ii. 40.

^s Ps. xxxiii. 9.

of Jesus, even though lodged in a frail tabernacle of clay.

“Expertus potest credere
Quid sit Jesum diligere.”

But if this experience of the children of the household be scarcely intelligible to those without, what shall we say of another experience, most awful to think of—that of fear of this latent virtue? It will be hardly credited, but we know it on the best authority, that persons wavering in the Anglican establishment, and leaning strongly towards Catholicity, are forbidden, by what they call their directors, ever to enter into any chapel in which the B. Sacrament is kept! In other words, they fear lest Jesus Christ Himself, in whose presence they profess to believe, should entice them by His sweetness, from a system which has lost Him. They dare not trust one of their flock to *His* guidance!

But, drawing now our remarks to a close, we will observe, that in the Catholic Church all is true, real, and consistent. Not a promise of our Lord's there falls through. If He gave the power of miracles to His Apostles, it was coupled with the greater power of working spiritual wonders; and while that first faculty is not withdrawn, but reserved for occasions that require it, the other is permanent and of daily use. The Catholic mind becomes as familiar with this, as we all do with the wonders of nature. “My Father worketh until now; and I work,” says our divine Redeemer. Their work is one, but its operations are divided. What the Father doth in the order of nature, the Son performs in the order of grace. To us, each is equally real, as equally invi-

sible. The One speaks to the waters of the deep, and they teem with life, and send forth the birds, and the creeping things of the earth; the Other breathes upon them, and they give to grace a new progeny, a regenerated humanity. The One commands the winds, and they pass over the earth, rough or gentle at will, but always cleansing, renewing, and recreating; the Other sends His Spirit upon the soul, and He, breathing where and how He willeth, purges, and frees from corruption the spiritual being, and renovates its fading life. The One, with kindly look, lights up the heavens with gladness and feeds the sun's unfailing radiance; the Other casts His fire upon the earth, and straightway it is enkindled: it sparkles through the soul, like a vivid electric dart in the youth, as he kneels to receive the Holy Ghost; it is strongly but steadily lighted in the sacerdotal breast, for a beacon, set on high, to guide frail barks to a safe haven; as a furnace, in which every passion has to be consumed and every virtue annealed; as a cheering domestic glow, round which the child and the old man will gladly gather for warmth. The One diffuses life through all nature; sends His seasons and their various energies to earth; distributes its shower and its dew, vivifies the corrupting grain, and makes it shoot forth bread for man, and sends through the plant its nourishing juices, to come out first fair in blossom, and then salubrious in fruit: the Other sows on earth a corn and a wine, that gladden the heart of man; scatters His harvest and his vintage over his Church, and with their unfailing succulency, feeds, sustains, cheers, and refreshes the unseen world of the spirit, the immortal part and being of man.

We can see nothing to disbelieve in the one, more than in the other series of marvellous operations,—

God is in both; the same power, the same wisdom, and the same love. This is the Catholic's simple thought; he believes the order of grace to be as real at that of nature; holds the existence of a spiritual, as much as of a physical, life. He believes that Jesus Christ has promised to be *with* His Church *all days* to the end of the world;" and he cannot understand this in any other sense, than in one becoming Him, as promising, not a distant superintendence, nor an occasional assistance, but a close and intimate association, and a daily by-standing, to borrow an expressive word.* *Ego operor*,—"I work," is His invaluable word; and this accounts for any amount of superhuman agency in the Church. "Peter baptizes," says St. Augustine;—"it is Christ that baptizes. Judas baptizes; it is Christ that baptizes." And so it is in all other sacramental mysteries. The hand that blesses is Christ's; the hand that consecrates is Christ's; the hand that anoints is Christ's; the hand that absolves is Christ's;—the same hand that touched the eyes, and they saw; that was laid on the sick, and they arose; that took hold of the dead, and he lived. This realization in fact of our divine Lord's presence in His Church, as an active daily and hourly truth, forms the difference between Catholic and Protestant belief on the Church. Thus Protestants can imagine the Church disunited—the note of unity in abeyance, as was lately said—then Christ is not there. For He cannot be disunited. His presence must be conceived to be a mere theoretical one, not an incorporation of Himself with the Church. They can believe her, even in general councils, to err. Then Christ is not really there *with* her. He is not truly in the midst of the more than two or

* Matt. xxviii. 20.

* *Beistand* (Germ.), assistance.

three gathered together in His name. They can believe in no inherent virtue in the B. Eucharist, and repudiate its adoration. Then He is not truly there present. In fine, they have no confidence in their own sacerdotal functions; they *dare* not ask for absolution from *any* clergyman, but only from certain initiated men, like those admitted to the mysteries of old: then Christ is not in the ministerial act, but comes into it through the godliness of the minister. But, to the Catholic, this assistance is actual on our Lord's part; it is not a theory, but a fact; and he believes in it as naturally as he does in God's providence, of which it is only a specific operation. Hence these wonderful effects of the Church's ministrations cease to be in his eyes miracles; they are only dispensations of grace.

And in truth, if further we consider what is a miracle, we shall find that it bears a twofold aspect,—the Jewish and the Christian. The perversity of the Jews consisted in a call for signs that could be *seen*. “Unless you *see* signs and wonders, you believe not,”⁷ was our Saviour's reproach to them. “Master,” they ask, “we wish to *see* a sign from you.”⁸ This was the lowest stage of belief; and could only lead to knowledge of that inferior class of wonders, which meets the senses. To this alone Protestantism is able to reach; and even in that it stands on so slippery a downward descent, that it easily falls over into the gulf of rationalism and infidelity. It calls ever out for the testimony of its eyes, just like the Jews. But the Christian rule of faith is very different. “Faith comes from *hearing*,”^a and not from seeing; and this is the Catholic evidence. By this alone the true

⁷ John iv. 47.

⁸ Matt. xii. 38.

^a Rom. x. 17.

wonders of God can be found; by this only are the real miracles of revelation discovered. The Jewish shepherd looked at the manger in Bethlehem, and contemplated its miracles with awe. The heavens had opened to him, and its radiant host had sung for him a wonderful hymn of jubilee; a brilliant star had glided from the east athwart the firmament, and had drawn after it the kings of earth. But to the Christian eye, the real miracle is, that the child in that manger, between an ox and an ass, is "true God of true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made." Before this knowledge, which the sight reveals not, all seen marvels sink into insignificance.

When Jesus was brought before Herod, he wished to *see* Him perform a miracle,^b and Jesus refused to gratify his insolent curiosity. What fitting miracle could He have wrought under such circumstances? He might most justly have struck the profligate idiot with blindness, as St. Paul did Elymas;^c and it would have been a just punishment, as well as a true sign. Yet a sign was wrought before him, and a wonder that made angels weep with amazement; and we see it, but that worthless infidel did not. It was the eternal Wisdom clad in a fool's coat, and the Son of God, mocked by a stupid rabble of courtiers—and no fire came down from heaven on them.

When, finally, the cross is raised on Calvary, and the sun is darkened, and the earth quakes, and the mountains are rent, and the veil of the temple is torn, and the dead arise; here surely are miracles and signs enough to satisfy even a Jew's gaping curiosity. But the Christian heeds them not: the greatest of miracles is on that cross. The eclipsing of that Sun of

^b Luke xxiii. 8.

^c Acts xiii. 8.

Justice;—the quivering of His frame;—the breaking of His heart;—the rending of His humanity;—the death of a God;—absorb all other thoughts and feelings, and make Redemption, the marvel of marvels, alone attended to.

In perfect consistency with this principle, is the Catholic view of the miracles of the New Testament. They are the noble, and the most perfect counterpart of the unseen wonders of the Christian dispensation.

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY.

A.

IN republishing this paper, I will add a few notes, to explain more minutely what is popularly stated in the text; as this version has not been much studied.

Ps. lxxviii. (*Heb.*), v. 74 in *Ar.*, 69 *Heb.* and *Gr.* The Hebrew has יִבֶן כְּמוֹרָמִים וְנִי, which is translated by the Septuagint, καὶ ψαδομησεν ὡς μονοκερωτον, κ. τ. λ. Now the Arabic has أسس على العلا —“He founded upon high.” It is clear this cannot be a translation from the Greek. Again, we may ask, whence could the words “founded upon” be taken? From the Hebrew; by changing the ב into כ in יבֶן, which thus becomes יכן, “he founded;” and the כ into ב in כְּמוֹ; which thus becomes בְּמוֹ, “upon,” instead of “as.”

The second illustration, alluded to in the text, is found in the translation of the word רָמִים. The Greek translator considered it identical with ראָמִים. According to the Greek, this word occurs four times in the Psalms: twice it is written fully with an א inserted twice defectively. The two instances of the first case are Ps. xxix. 6, and xcii. (*Heb.*) 10, *Ar.* 11. In the first of these places the Arabic has the very word of the Hebrew, الرّيم on which ample details will be found in Bochart's Hierozoicon, vol. ii. p. 335. In the second it gives an accurate translation of the Greek word used in both texts—μονοκερως, by rendering it وحيد القرن “the one-horned.”

The instances of defective orthography of the word are Ps. xxii. 21, *Ar.* 22, and lxxviii. 74: and here the word presents the form

רמים, resembling the plural of רם, "high." Now, though in both these places the Septuagint version has *μονοκερως*, the Arabic has *high*. In the first passage it reads, "and from the horn *raised* upon my lowliness." On the second text, I have already remarked that the translator seems to have had the Hebrew before him; and this confirms it: for here again he translates by *high*.—"He has founded on high." And although Aquila has *ἐψηλως*, and Symmachus *ὡς τα ἐψηλα*, yet neither of these is represented in our version.

It appears, therefore, that in the two places where the word is written full, the Arabic version agrees with the Greek; where it is defective, it gives a translation only derivable from the Hebrew. It is right, however, to mention, that the same phenomenon is to be found in the Syriac Peshito.

The Arabic version published by Walton in his Polyglot, agrees with the LXX in all four places.

B.

This verse suggests an interesting critical discussion, affecting not only the Arabic version, but the Vulgate. The Hebrew has אוֹנִים לִי כְרִית, "Thou hast pierced [or opened] mine ears."

The Septuagint, followed by St. Paul (Heb. x. 5), *Σωμα δε κατηρτισω μου*.

The Vulgate has, "Aures autem perfecisti mihi."

Finally, the Arabic version before us,—

صنع لي جسداً، وناكت مسامعي

"Thou hast made me a body, and Thou hast opened mine ears."

To begin with the Vulgate. Through the entire Psalm, it is evidently translated from the Greek, without the slightest intervention of the Hebrew. Yet in this verse, and in it alone, it deserts the Greek, and, in part at least, approaches to the Hebrew. So likewise does the translator of St. Irenæus. But this approximation is more apparent, perhaps, than real. It seems to lie in two words,—"*aures*," and "*perfecisti*."

1. *Aures*. The Mosarabic and Roman Psalters, St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, St. Ambrose, and St. Hilary, read *corpus*. It would thus appear that there is good authority for assimilating the text in this word to the Septuagint; and reading, "Corpus autem perfecisti mihi."

2. *Perfecisti*. All the Latin Fathers use this verb, whether they read *aures* or *corpus*, except St. Ambrose, who, once, in his Commentary, has *præparasti*; though in the same place he also, several times,

reads *perfecisti*. This shows that he considered the two as nearly equivalents:—"Thou hast prepared, or perfected, a body for me." The same Greek verb occurs in the passage in St. Paul, where the Vulgate renders it by *aptasti*: which, again, has the same meaning:—"Thou hast fitted a body to me, or prepared a fitting body for me."

It follows that *perfecisti* corresponds to *κατηρτισω*, and not to *כרית*: for the Greek verb means sometimes in Scripture, "to perfect;" but the Latin verb never means to "pierce." (*Vide* Schleusner in voce.) The Douay version, therefore, which renders it thus: "Thou hast pierced ears for me," is incorrect; and this instance might have been added to those given in the essay on "Catholic Versions."

Proceeding now to the Greek text, we find a variety of readings corresponding to that of the Latin version. Lambert Bos cites a Commentary as reading *Ωτια δε μοι κατηρτισω*. Nobilius gives all MSS. as unanimous in reading *σωμα*, except one. But more extensive inquiries have led to further discoveries. For in Parsons's (Holmes's) Septuagint, we have the following note:—*σωμα δε] ωτια δε*, 39; *ωτια δε*, 142, 156 (292 marg.). This gives us three MSS. that have "ears" in the text.* But all have the same verb, which can only have been applied to "body:" and we may therefore conclude that the more general is the correct reading.

And as the same reasoning applies to the Vulgate, we must conclude that originally it was in perfect accordance with the Greek, and the word *aures* is a modern variation.

Finally, to come to our Arabic, it is clear that the translator gives at full both the Hebrew and the Greek texts. And what makes this more remarkable, the Polyglot version, before mentioned, does the same, though differing in words. I will observe, that a connection between these two Arabic versions is traceable: for instance, in the Psalm before us, the two first verses are identical, except in two words; and the translation in both is peculiar:—"With patience I have hoped in the Lord."

C.

Vv. 13, 14, are as follows:—"Because He is thy God, Him thou shalt adore. The daughters of Tyre shall adore Him." Here, again, are two readings joined. The Hebrew has *וְהָשִׁתְּחָיִלָּהּ*, "adore Him," in the femin. imper. The LXX has *καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῇ θυγατέρες*

* In the description of MSS., the ones here quoted are thus described:—39, Cod. Dorothei, ii. membr. sæc. ix.—142, Bib. Aulic. Vindob. Theol. x. membr. pervet. opt. notæ.—156, Bib. Basil. membr. 4^o adm. antiq. sine accent. cum. vers. lat. interl.—292, Cod. Bib. Medic. num. iii. Plut. vi. opt. notæ. membr. in fol. sæc. xi.

"If I take the wings of morning." The Greek has, "If I take my wings κατ' ὄρθον;" or, as the Alexandrine MS. more correctly reads, κατ' ὄρθρον, *in the morning* (Vulg. *diluculo*). Both the Syr. and Arab. read, "If I take the wings as the eagle's."

Ps. lxxix. (Heb.) 1. The Seventy translate מִצְרַיִם most peculiarly by σπυροφυλακίον (Vulg. *pororum custodia*). The Syriac has ܡܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܐ *desolate*. The Arabic has combined the two readings, putting ܡܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܐ "desolate" (the same word as in the Syriac) "as a prison"—φυλακίον. (Can he have read ὡς περ φυλακίον?)

It was by this frequent approximation to the Syriac, no doubt, that Michaelis, who calls our translator *Arabs Antiochenus*, was deceived into the idea that his version was made directly and entirely from the Peshito. See his edition of Castelli's Syriac Lexicon, in the words ܡܕܝܬܐ, ܡܕܝܬܐ, ܡܕܝܬܐ and ܡܕܝܬܐ.

THE
ACTIONS
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Dec., 1851.

THE
ACTIONS
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ART. III.—1. *Jesus the Son of Mary; or, the Doctrine of the Catholic Church upon the Incarnation of God the Son, considered in its bearings upon the reverence shown by Catholics to His Blessed Mother.* By REV. JOHN BRANDE MORRIS, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Toovey, 1851.

2. *Lettres Catholiques sur l'Evangile.—Catholic Letters on the Gospel.* By the ABBE MASSIOT. Paris: Dentu, 1851.

WHEN, some numbers back, we treated first of the Parables,^a and then of the Miracles, of the New Testament,^b and showed how they could only receive their obvious explanation, as instructions, through the Catholic system, we felt that the same principle was applicable to all that our Redeemer said or did to make us wise unto salvation. To suppose that the less direct teaching of the Gospel belonged exclusively to the Spouse, and that the more immediate announcement of religious truth was common property to her and to her rivals, would indeed be an anomaly of reasoning, whereof we should be sorry to have any one suspect us. The miracle was for the unbelieving multitude; the parable was for the heartless priest and scribe; for friends and dear ones were the ordi-

^a Vol. xxvii.

^b Ibid.

nary and domestic actions of Christ's earthly life; for apostles and disciples were His words of eternal life, the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. The Church that alone can claim succession, in ministry, in truth, in grace, and even in history, from these, must alone be entitled to appropriate to herself what was done and said for *them*. Others may stand in the skirts of the crowd, and listen; some may even penetrate into the inner circle that stands about Jesus, to interrogate, being doctors of the law, or to tempt, being pharisees. And if, like those who were sent to apprehend Him, but remained to listen to him, they attend with sincerity to His doctrines in parables and in mighty works, they will find them directed, as we have before seen, to force them into communion with, and submission to, the one, holy, and apostolic, Church, in which alone His teaching ends, which alone His miracles illustrate.

But when the day's labour is closed, and no Nicodemus comes by night, to prolong it, before our heavenly Teacher retires to the mountain-top, or to His humble chamber, to pass the hours of repose in *His* rest, "the prayer of God," we see Him seated in the company of the few, of the faithful, and the loving; the Shepherd of the little flock, the Father of a slender household, partaking with them of their homely fare, and sharing with them in their untutored conversation. That His speeches to the multitude and to the priests were clothed in noble and elegant language, no one can doubt. The people admired not only the wisdom, but the grace, which flowed from His lips;^c the learned, like Nicodemus, conversed with Him respectfully;^d and all wondered at the gifts, ordinarily of education, spontaneously springing from

^c Luke iv. 22.

^d John iii. 2.

the mind of a reputed carpenter's son.^o But without repassing the ground trodden over in the first of the articles referred to, we will content ourselves with saying, that had the language, or accent, of our Saviour betrayed any symptoms of Galilean rudeness, the ridicule which might have been cast upon it would have been too keen and too useful a weapon, to have been refused by his unprincipled foes. The Jewish writers are unsparingly severe upon it. But when we come to contemplate our B. Redeemer, retired from the crowd into the society of His disciples and familiar friends, we cannot but see Him descend into the familiar dialect of His own country; as senators in Venice, or nobles in Provence, would do when in the bosoms of their families. With Peter, whose speech in the priest's hall made him known for a Galilean,^f He would converse in those homely phrases, and with those local tones, which formed the language of the more favoured cottage, as of the surrounding dwellings, of Nazareth, and which He condescended to lisp in infancy, as if caught from the sweet lips of His humble Mother. For affectation must be removed, as much as coarseness, from our estimate of His character, who chose to be poor among the poor.

And thus also we come to contemplate the frugal meal at which this heavenly conversation was held, as corresponding in its outer form and features. Rude furniture, in an unadorned chamber, rough-hewn tables and stools, the wooden platter, and the earthenware beaker, are the preparation for a repast, of which the bread is not from Aser,^g nor the wine from Engaddi. Yet what a banquet! Here it is that the parable is explained, and the want of faith censured; that contentions for precedence are checked, and deep lessons

^o Matt. xiii. 56. ^f Matt. xxvi. 43. ^g Gen. xlix. 20.

of charity and humility are taught; that, in fine, the mysteries of revelation are disclosed, and the gospel seed is dropped in warm and panting hearts.

Surely then, if the Church can claim the more mysterious teaching of adverse or curious crowds, as all directed for her improvement, she must have as fair a right to appropriate to herself that more intimate and direct instruction, which was addressed to those, whom she alone represents, and succeeds, on earth. And such is the teaching by actions, and by words. To the first we shall confine ourselves in this paper, reserving the second to a future opportunity.

But though we have drawn a faint outline of our Lord's dealings with His apostles and friends, by way of describing the scenes of familiar life in which we may find instruction, in so doing we have kept before us an ulterior view.

I. In fact, if "Christian" signifies a follower and disciple of Christ, one who looks up to his Master's example as a perfect model, there must, and will, be among those who bear that name, many that will gladly copy whatever He has been pleased to do. To all, this may not be given, any more than it is granted them to resemble Him in His ministry, or in His sufferings, or in His more spiritual prerogatives. But as His type is not to be found reproduced in any one of His disciples, as John came nearest to Him in love, Peter in elevation and headship, Paul in eloquence, James in prayer, Andrew in death; and as in later times His sacramental grace lives in His priesthood, His patience in His martyrs, His union of soul with God in His holy virgins: so may we expect to find in some class of His chosen imitators this love and choice of poverty, this denudation of worldly comfort, and neglect of bodily ease. Our B. Redeemer is indeed a

fount of burning light, the very sun of the spiritual firmament in His Church; and the rays that are concentrated, with dazzling intensity, in Him, diverge and are scattered over earth as they descend; and one is reflected back from one soul, and another from another, reproducing jointly the image of Himself; but each one brightly rendering back only one, though absorbing many more. Now if one of the virtues of our Lord was contempt of earthly things, and love necessarily of abjection, it must yet be reflected upon earth somewhere in His Church; and if this virtue be found only in one among contending parties, it surely will form a moral note, a seal of Christ not to be mistaken.

We imagined, for instance, just now, this heavenly teacher joining His disciples in their temperate repast, entertaining them meanwhile with that word, on which man lives, no less than upon bread.^b Now let us descend eleven hundred years in time, and travel from Palestine to a more westerly region. There is a cleft in a mountain's side, down which, though most precipitous, and seemingly carved out by an ancient torrent, rarely a drop of water flows, into whose dismal avenue no songster of the grove is known to penetrate. Patched against the side of this gloomy glen, and rooted in its grey crags, is a dwelling half-built, half-excavated, which, at the period alluded to, had just been constructed. The inmates are at meat. Just enter in. Their refectory is low, dark, and damp, for one part of it has its walls of rock. All else is in admirable keeping: the tables and forms are scarcely less rugged. And what is on the former does not fall much behind. A few herbs from the impracticable garden, seasoned poorly, bread of the coarsest, and drink of the sourest, form the provision. At this are

^b Matt. iv. 4.

seated young men and old, all simply clad, of grave aspect and modest demeanour. One alone is not engaged as the rest. He is seated apart, and reads to them that eat. Let us listen to his words, which seem to rivet the attention of all, and give a dainty relish to their homely food. Is it from the "Romaunt of the Rose" that he is reading? Is he reciting scraps of minstrelsy, that tell of chivalrous deeds, or of some high-born dame on her ambling palfrey, escorted by a gallant knight? Something of the sort, forsooth; but sweeter, Oh! by far! From the Book of books he is reading, how, in cold winter, a gentle maiden rode from Nazareth to Bethlehem upon an ass, attended by a poor carpenter; and at her journey's end lodged in a stable. At this simple tale, behold, he who presides puts away his frugal platter, and rises from his hard seat, trembling with emotion, his eyes glistening with tears, his hands clasped convulsively. What has caused this sudden outburst of grief? Why, he seems to himself a base poltroon, a dainty, delicate fellow, lodged gloriously, clothed luxuriously, fed sumptuously, the very rich glutton of the Gospel, when he compares himself with her, who, delicate, and pure as the lily bending over the snow-drop, adores the heavenly Infant who has come, in that hour, to share her cold and poverty. And so he crouches down in shame and humility on the clay pavement of his refectory, and in a low wailing, broken with sobs, exclaims: "Woe is me! The Mother of my God seated on the ground, and I comfortably placed at table! My infant Saviour poor and destitute, and I enjoying an abundant meal!"

Now to the scripture read, this was then a commentary, and it must be allowed a practical one. It said, more plainly than the neatest print of modern

fount could convey it, that if Jesus Christ chose poverty and discomfort for Himself and those whom He best loved, He cannot but be pleased with those who, out of dear love of Him, choose a similar state. It goes on to say, that even when we have done our best to copy, the divine original stands far above us, and beyond our reach, and there is room left for humility at seeing our distance. And so the holy St. Francis, one of whose many beautiful actions we have been narrating, as well as many of his companions, had been rich, but had become poor, nay, wretchedly poor, and mortified, and neglectful of self, and all for God's sake. Yes, though in a cavern, clad in a single tunic, girt with a cord, and feeding on commonest fare, he saw enough to make him weep, in the greater abasement of God made man.

A proud supercilious age will no doubt tell us, that St. Francis did not rightly read the Gospel. Was he wrong, then, in understanding from it that our Saviour loved and chose poverty? Or was he wrong in believing it good to love and choose what *He* loved and chose? If the meal which we have described is not to be considered as approaching to the character and spirit of the repast enjoyed by the apostolic college with their divine Head, then we will agree to go elsewhere to look for a parallel. Whither shall we go? To the workhouse, with its inflexible dietary? Or to the hospital, like St. Cross, with its stinted fare? But it is the voluntary imitation of the divine example, in the Church, that we are seeking; and not the compulsory fasts inflicted on others by the State or the Church. Perhaps when churchmen meet in hall—the nearest approach to the monastic refectory—for example, in one of our universities, may be expected the closest adaptation of necessary refectio

to the evangelical standard. On a fast-day particularly of the Establishment's appointment, we may hope to see how well it reads the gospel injunctions. Beneath the well-carved, lofty roof-tree, beside the emblazoned oriel, amidst the portraits of the great and rich men, who have sanctified the hall before then, around tables well furnished—we will say no more—sit the ministers of a dispensation, which if it be of invisible and spiritual goods, neglects not the ponderable and the perceptible. Perhaps, after the duties of the hour are over, one of them will wipe his mouth, and proceed to evening lecture in the pulpit, there to assure his hearers that, among the superstitions of popery is that of embracing a life of poverty and abjection, voluntarily suffering privations, subjecting the body by austerity: all of which comes of not studying the Scriptures; as neither the example of our Lord, nor the writings of Paul, give the least warranty for such unnatural conduct. And he will instance, as proof, the grovelling Francis, who quite lost sight of his Saviour, by going on the path of poverty.

In the life of St. Gregory the Great, we read that he daily entertained, and served, at table twelve poor men, in honour of the twelve apostles; and that one day a thirteenth unbidden guest sat with them. "And none of them that were at meat durst ask Him: Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord." Now were it to please that same divine Being to visit thus, in visible form, the haunts of men, and seat Himself at table, where most congenial to His meek heart; we are simple enough to believe that He would be more naturally to be expected in that very refectory of St. Francis's *Carceri*, yet existing in that cloven

¹ John xxi, 12.

Apennine, near Asisi, where the same poverty and frugality are still practised, than in the midst of a clerical party, in the combination-room of any University college.

It may perhaps be said, that our parallel is unfair. But we are driven to it, by the absence from the "pure and apostolic branch of the Church established in this country" of anything more likely, *a priori*, to bear analogy with our Saviour's repasts among His apostles. And we cannot forbear remarking, how, in every Catholic community, the presence of Christ instructing His disciples, at their common table, is imitated by the reading of Scripture during meals; a practice, we believe, confined to our "unscriptural" and "Scripture-hating" Church.

But our main purpose hitherto has been to show, how this maligned, but only faithful Spouse, has alone read her Lord's poverty as a practical lesson, has artlessly believed that it was not a chance but a choice, has unaffectedly deemed it a virtue, has found it a key to many otherwise locked-up treasures, a way rugged and steep over Calvary to Thabor. And this poverty of Christ, our Saviour, may be well put at the head of His actions, as ruling, modifying, and colouring them all, from His cradle to His cross.

It is not, of course, our intention, or we might properly say, our presumption, to go over even the principal actions of that life. We will only cull out a few, and we must premise that our selection will not be systematic; only we shall begin with the beginning, and choose classes or groups of actions, in preference to single acts. In the early period of the divine life on earth, we have necessarily to contemplate the influence which it had upon another person, inferior indeed by far, but nearer to Him of whom we speak

than any other created being. A Catholic at once understands us to mean His Blessed Mother.

II. Now it has appeared to us, when contemplating the early scenes of the gospel history, that her place has been far from duly considered, with reference to questions controversially agitated. It is true that the Catholic attaches importance to all recorded concerning her in the Gospel; and finds there proofs incontestable of her virtue, her dignity, her privileges, and her influence, or rather power. The Protestant is, on the contrary, prone to depress, to extenuate, to disattach importance from, all that relates to her; nay, he seeks to overlook it all, as merely secondary, casual, and almost dangerous. Now it is surely important, and it can hardly fail to be interesting, to ascertain what place is appointed to her by the Word, and the Spirit, of God, in the twofold economy, of faith, and of grace. In the earlier part of gospel history we must look for our answer.

I. We shall, perhaps, a little weary our readers by the course of remarks through which we must beg to lead them. They will contain nothing new, and nothing very brilliant.

It is clear that the historical books of the New Testament present a twofold aspect, as trustworthy, and as inspired, compositions. Their writers used every human industry and pains, to record what they believed and knew to be true; and the Divine Spirit superintended, guided, secured from smallest error, and sealed the work which He Himself had suggested to the writer's mind. There were two excellent reasons, among others, for this mode of dealing. First, those books had to go forth and be examined by men who were unbelievers, and before whom their authors came merely as honest, accurate, and credible historians. They were

to be received by Pagan and Jew, and later by sceptic and sophist, antecedently to any recognition of their inspiration. They were to be submitted to all the tests of human ingenuity, and even malice; put on the rack; compared with every other sort of document; tried by geography, physics, history, morals; examined by every possible light, heathen, rabbinical, Gnostic, Jewish; tortured philologically in every member of every sentence. Then the character of each writer was to be investigated; when he lived and where; what were his means of knowing; what his right to speak; what his language, his dialect, his idioms, his peculiar turn of thought; what his object and purpose, and what his mode of attaining it; what his interest, his gain, his loss, his chances. In fact, men who were called upon to give up everything that human nature hugs, and evil passions stick to, on the strength of certain most extraordinary facts related by what seemed very ordinary people, were not likely to do so upon a claim of inspiration, but would search into the evidence of the facts, through the credibility of their vouchers, with the sharp scrutiny of a repugnant mind. Now this inquiry must be exercised on the varied elements of a human truth. The earthly author must appear, if not in his infirmities, at least in his peculiarities, to lend a grasp to the eager searcher. Where there are no veins, no grain, no colour, no separable ingredients, no penetrable point, investigation is hopeless. Hence every defender of the Gospels, from the beginning of the Church till now, has laid hold of those coincidences with, or approximations to, other writers, which proved humanly the perfect veracity of the inspired penman; and even minute research has been employed, to discover apparently trifling corroborations of particular statements.

Let the reader but look at the first sentence of Dr. Lardner's "Credibility," and he will see how an able Protestant vindicator of the New Testament undertakes what we have described. The same course is pursued by Catholics, enforcing the credibility of the gospel history against unbelievers.*

A second reason for this economy is that of its becomingness. The gift of inspiration could not be supposed to be bestowed on negligent or careless writers. We cannot well imagine a consciousness of inspiration (we do not speak of vision or revelation) in one who had witnessed facts, superseding all care or effort, accurately to remember what he had witnessed. He did his best to render himself worthy of the marvellous gift, by his own thoughtful and diligent application to the task. He wrote as conscientiously, and with as anxious a desire to give the truth, as though he had no guarantee against error.

The result is, consequently, as we have remarked, a double aspect under which the evangelical records present themselves. First, they will bear the strictest scrutiny as histories, antecedent to all proof of revelation; so as to compel the acknowledgment of the facts contained in them—facts which form the basis of Christianity. And this secures moral certainty to one previously an unbeliever. Secondly, they have on them the sacred and divine stamp of inspiration, of which no sufficient evidence can exist out of the Catholic Church; and this furnishes them with supernatural authority, making them be believed no longer with a human, but with a divine, faith. The one

* Every course of theology will show this. *E.g.* Perrone, tom. i. cap. iv. pr. i.; tom. ix. par. ii. sect. i. c. i. pr. iii., where the usual arguments for credibility are brought forward.

makes them credible, the other infallible; the one true, the other certain.

But the surest proof that the first character pervades the gospel history is, the appeal made by the writers themselves to the usual grounds of credibility. These are of two classes. St. John claims the rights of the first—that of an eye and ear-witness. “That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life (for the Life was manifested, and we have seen, and do bear witness, and declare unto you the Life eternal, which was with the Father, and hath appeared to us); that which we have seen and have heard, we declare unto you.”¹ Again, of the mysterious flow of blood and water from Christ’s side: “And he that saw it hath given testimony; and his testimony is true.”^m And at the close of his gospel: “This is the disciple that giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things.”ⁿ St. Luke contents himself with being evidence of the second class, as the accurate recorder of events carefully collected from first witnesses. “Forasmuch as many have taken in hand, to set forth in order a narration of the things which have been accomplished among us, according as *they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word*; it seemed good to me also, *having diligently attained to all things from the beginning*, to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus.”^o

And, in fact, if we diligently peruse the Gospels, we shall perhaps be surprised to find, how few events are

¹ 1 John i. 1.

ⁿ John xxi. 24.

^m John xix. 33.

^o Luke i. 1-3.

recorded, of which the knowledge could not have come from human testimony. The prayer in the garden, which was unwitnessed by man, and the first moments of the resurrection, perhaps form the only exceptions ; but they can, and may, be supposed to have been communicated by Him, whose testimony infinitely transcends that of man.

We may seem to have made a long digression, or to have taken a circuitous path to our purpose. It is indeed so. But we have gained these two points : first, that the chain of evidence, whereby the great Christian system is mainly sustained, must be unexceptionable as to strength, decision, and completeness, without a flaw or imperfection ; and, secondly, that the divine inspiration confirms and sanctions the solidity and fitness of every link. Hence arises the high position of evangelist in the order of saints. St. John is styled "the Evangelist," in preference to "the Apostle," because the first title is a distinctive beyond the second. And no small portion of the apostles' glory consists in their having been chosen witnesses of our Blessed Lord's actions, to manifest them to the world ; whence St. Paul hesitates not to say, that we are of God's household, because we are "built upon the foundation" (that is, the testimony) "of the apostles and prophets."^p

But, whatever may have been the importance of the facts or events to which they were called to be witnesses, there was one of more importance than them all, one which is the very ground-work of the Christian dispensation, without the certainty of which the entire system falls to pieces. This is the mystery of the Incarnation, as accomplished upon earth. To this God willed that there should be only one witness ; of

^p Ephes. ii. 20.

all its holiest details one sole evidence. "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand,"^a except the Word of words, the Incarnate Word. This must stand attested to the world for ever by only one witness,—and that was Mary, the ever blessed. Who could tell that Gabriel came from heaven, and brought her, from the Eternal Father, message? Who, that she was alarmed at his greeting? Who, that she hesitated to accept the proposed prerogative of a divine maternity, at its imagined price? Who, that he manifested the fulness of the gift, and the miraculous agency by which it had to be accomplished? Who, her virginal consent, and its concurrent effect, the Mystery of life, the Emanuel in existence, a God-man in being? Only she, the chosen, exclusive partaker, on earth, of the most hidden counsels of the Almighty.

Now, first, take away her contribution to the gospel testimony, efface her testimony to Christianity, and you find not simply a link broken, but the very fastening of the whole chain wanting; not merely a gap, or a break, made in the structure, but the foundation gone. In the laws of belief on testimony, what elsewhere appears unnatural is true. If you want to make a structure look unsafe, you represent it as a pyramid resting on its point. Yet where the number of believers increases at each generation, from the first source of evidence, it is clear, that a diagram representing this fact, and the unity of derivation of the truth believed, would present this very form. Now here the belief in the wonders wrought in the Incarnation, of ages and of the world, rests upon one point of testimony, a unit, a single voice—that of the B. Virgin Mary.

^a Matt. xviii. 16.

Again we say, cancel her testimony, and what becomes of all other witnesses? Had she not let out the secrets of her breasts, or in higher truth, had not God's Spirit moved her, as He moved the Evangelists, not to collect, indeed, but to scatter, not to inquire, but to teach; had He not thus made her the Evangelist of the Evangelists, and the Apostle to Apostles; had not that same divine influence, which overcame her first reluctance of purity, prevailed over her second unwillingness, from humility (of which we shall treat later), and compelled her to speak; the whole tale of love, which fills the holiest of histories, would have wanted, not only its tenderest and most affecting beginning, but the very root from which its loveliness and beauty spring, to circulate through it all. We should have read with wonder the account of miracles most amazing, and discourses most admirable, and virtues most divine; but it would have been difficult for us to separate, in our minds, this narrative from what we attribute to prophets or patriarchs, had not the clear, and most sweet, and consoling record of our Lord's appearance on earth been preserved for us, so as totally to segregate Him from the very highest orders of holiness, and make Him even here "higher than the heavens." And let it be remarked too, that even the principal circumstances of our Saviour's Nativity and early life rest exclusively upon the same evidence. When St. Luke collected his narrative from those who had been witnesses from the beginning, Joseph was long departed, and so were Zachary and Elizabeth, as well as Simeon and Anna. She only who laid up all that happened in her mother's heart,^r survived, witness of the journey to Bethlehem and of the flight into Egypt, of the angelic messages which

^r Luke ii. 19, 51.

accompanied these events, and of the presentation in the temple. Who else had retained in memory the words so admirable, and so important to us, of Elizabeth and of Zachary; above all, that canticle of dearest interest to the Church for ever, her unfailing evening hymn, the *Magnificat*? It is a treasury, the mother's bosom, at once capacious and retentive, in which can be secured words and deeds that have passed from every other mind. And so when, after forty years, the early life of our Redeemer is inquired into, there remains one faithful and most loving witness, to give proof of what ennobled, ratified, and stamped with divine evidence, every action and every word of His after-life. Mary alone supplied the testimony to His miraculous conception and birth, and to the fulfilment of the prophecies in her pure virginal being.

But we may go further. So completely had these wonderful occurrences been concealed, so well had "the secret of the King been hidden," that when our Lord came before the public, its uncontradicted opinion pronounced Him to be Joseph's son, "being, as it was supposed, the son of Joseph." And the people hesitated not to say in His own very country, "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Jude; and his sisters are they not all with us?"^a And again they said, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then, saith he, I came down from heaven?"^x Here were valid elements of human evidence, a strong foundation for historical assertion. Had any one gone into the very country and neighbourhood where Jesus had lived, to inquire into His early

^a Tob. xii. 7.

^t Luke iii. 23.

^u Matt. xiii. 55.

^x John vi. 42.

history, he would have found concurrent testimony that He was "the carpenter's son." The espousals of Mary with him, would have been quoted, as well as their enrolment in Augustus's census. Public repute,—that is the testimony of thousands, might have been powerfully alleged. And against all its authority, what have we to oppose? The simple assertion of Mary. So high, so sacred, so undoubted is her word, that to the Christians of all ages it has sufficed to counterbalance every other source of information. Surely, then, her place is the very first in the order of Gospel evidences, and so in the economy of faith.

Let us again consider, what gives her this position. When an apologist, as writers on the evidences are most unbecomingly called, wishes to establish the claims of the Evangelists to our credit, antecedent to the proof of inspiration, he justly insists upon what they did and suffered, to demonstrate their sincerity. We are most rightly shown, how every interest was surrendered, every dearest affection sacrificed, prospects, comfort, home, friends, family; how every suffering was incurred, every hardship courted, from the discomfort of an uncertain life, to the extremity of certain death; and who, it is powerfully asked, would act thus without firm conviction, and on behalf of anything but truth? And further appeal is justly made to the wonders which they themselves wrought, and the supernatural gifts which they displayed, in attestation of their truthfulness. Now, all this being most true, let us see how it influences our idea of the character of God's blessed Mother. Long before the three first gospels were written, very long before the last of them was penned, the Apostles had given their testimony to the whole world,—“their sound had gone

forth into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.”^v Some of them had even sealed their doctrine with their blood. And there may have been some who, like Thomas in India, or Bartholomew in Armenia, never used the written word, to teach Christianity. And no doubt each of them spoke as a witness of the Resurrection, and other miracles. But they were just as ready to die for the truth of much which they had not seen,—for the certainty of the virginal conception of Mary, and the marvels of the Nativity. They indeed had divine internal conviction of all these facts; but they preached them to the heathen and Jewish world, as witnesses. They would claim therefore the same credit and authority for what they taught on Mary’s testimony, as for what they had witnessed with their own eyes. And if anyone asked them what motives of credibility they could give for her witnessing, they would indeed necessarily be of a nature totally different from any other. To her were granted no miraculous powers, no supernatural gifts. To her was not accorded the rougher evidence of apostolic trial and suffering. No prison, no rack, no sword, save that of grief, is her appointed lot. How could it have been otherwise? She lives in quiet; she dies in peace. She had everything to *gain* by her testimony; it secured to her the sublime, unrivalled position of God’s Mother. What then was the corroboration of *her* testimony, which an apostle would allege? Her spotless innocence, her heroic fortitude, her unfailing sweetness, her peerless holiness; in one word, her matchless virtue. But further, her participation in all the evidences of her Son’s mission. Every prophecy which He uttered, every heavenly doctrine which He preached, every miracle

^v Ps. xviii. 5.

which He wrought, every grace which He displayed, was witnessing to her, every time he called her His mother. Whatever proved to the world who He was, showed it equally what she was. Every work which demonstrated Him to be the Son of God, proved her irrefragably to be the Mother of God. "*Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quæ suxisti,*"* was the natural expression of feeling regarding both. It was a contradiction of reason, and a blasphemy against God, to suppose that she was not worthy of her high dignity, her awful relationship, or rather her appointed office, in the scheme of man's Redemption.

Such was the ground of credibility accorded to her testimony; one superior far to what was given to any of the apostles. Let us then imagine the "glorious choir" of these holy men, about to spread over the whole earth to preach the Gospel, and collecting together the great facts, which they must proclaim, as the basis of their doctrine, and to which they must bear witness, even by the shedding of their blood. There is as yet no written word of the New Law; and this meeting is therefore the very first source of universal teaching. Each one comes to pour into the common fountain his jealously-guarded store, thence to well forth, and flow unfailingly, as the stream of tradition through the Church—the life-bearing river of the earthly paradise. Some bring less, and some more: while those who have been born after time, into the faith, receive almost with jealousy, what into their eager ears, by the more favoured ones, is poured. John and his brother and Peter attest the anticipation of celestial glory on Thabor. The first of these alone can recount, while others hang down their heads and blush, what took place on Calvary, and on its rood:

* Luke xi. 27.

and the last bears witness against himself, of his triple denial in the high priest's hall. Nicodemus has a hidden treasure which he brings out, in the mysterious conference that he held with Jesus; and Magdalen may be the only one to tell the history of her forgiveness. But when each one has contributed his all, miracles, and parables, and gracious words, and wisest discourse, and splendid acts, they have but furnished materials for a history of three years of a life of three-and-thirty. Where do the remaining thirty lie hidden? Who holds their annals? Who is the rich treasurer of that golden heap, of blessed words and acts divine? One, only one. Let her be entreated to enrich the world by participation of her recondite knowledge. She comes to pour, into the bright waters that flow from the apostolic fount, the virginal cruse which, Queen of wise virgins, she treasures in her bosom. Yea truly, and the lamp which *it* feeds cannot be extinguished. A few drops indeed only will she give; for by those thirty years it may be said, that she mainly was intended to profit; they were *her* school of perfection. But every single drop is most precious—is as a peerless and priceless pearl. “*Oleum effusum nomen tuum.*”^a The very name of JESUS, that name of blessing and salvation, she makes known as a divine revelation to her, and with it all the promises of what He should, under it, accomplish, and the proclamation of what, by it, He was declared. While apostles surrounded Him to witness His wonderful works, while multitudes pressed in admiration to listen to Him, she hung, at times, on the skirt of the crowd, or stood outside the door, the solicitous, because loving, mother. But the maternal heart naturally flies back to the days of infancy, which are

^a Cant. i. 2.

there laid up in vivid recollection. The woman will most gladly remember the hour of her purest joy; when she rejoiced that a man was born into the world.^b What then, if He was, the "Wonderful, God the Mighty."^c And such are the precious, and most soothing manifestations which Mary will make, for the comfort of devout souls, even to the end of the world. She will lay the very groundwork of the evangelical narrative. Whatever gratitude the Church bears towards the collectors and preservers of our first sacred records, is due in signal manner to her. Whatever of credibility, authority, and truthfulness is warranted by Christian belief, to the witnesses of what constitutes the basis of faith, must be peculiarly extended to her. Nor may we doubt the justness of her title in the Church—REGINA APOSTOLORUM.

This our obligation is further enhanced by a consideration to which we have alluded, and which has often struck us in reflecting on a passage in the Gospel. May we be allowed to add, that its beauty, as well as its importance, seems to us to have been much overlooked. From Matt. i. 18-24, it is clear that the angel's visit to the B. Virgin was by her completely concealed. This would have seemed almost impossible. It was a subject for the purest, yet intensest joy; for an exultation of spirit that would beam forth from every feature, would quiver on the lips, betray itself by involuntary gestures of bliss. Then to be so exalted, and not show consciousness of it; to be raised above every attainable dignity, to find oneself become the theme of prophecy, the fulfilment of types, the term of the Old Law, the dawn of the new day, the mother of the world's life, in one word, the Mother of God, and not, by look, or word, hint it; to be as

^b John xvi. 21.

^c Is. ix. 6.

calm, as simple, as natural, the next time she spoke with Joseph, as if nothing had occurred ; this gives us a truer estimate of the beauty and perfection of her character, than almost anything else that is on record. And further, that naturally foreseeing or knowing, as time went on, Joseph's tormenting perplexity, she should have preferred to bear its pain—the most grievous possible to her pure and affectionate heart, to a manifestation of her lofty privileges, and heavenly maternity, proves both a humility without parallel, and a confidence in God's providence worthy of it. But now, is it rash to say, that if even such strong motives as were here presented did not suffice to overcome her humble modesty, and induce her to manifest her hidden glory, there must have been a reason stronger still, to influence her, when afterwards she gave minute details of Gabriel's interview, and the circumstances of the divine Incarnation? And this will be supplied by the same power which impelled St. John, in extreme old age, to record his remembrances of our Lord's discourses; the Holy Spirit's prompting to a work important for our instruction, and so for our salvation.

And now we may ask, is there anything exaggerated, unnatural, or repugnant to God's word, in the view which we have taken of the B. Virgin's place in the economy of faith? We feel sure there is not. We have then only further to ask, is this her position one in accordance with Protestant ideas, or Protestant affections? Would it suit the pulpit or the pen of Anglican or Dissenter, Lutheran or Calvinist? Would it be tolerated even as a speculative thesis in a Protestant university, or be proposed as a theme for devout meditation by a high-church director? Take the whole range of heretical feelings towards the Mother

of the Incarnate Word, from brutish abhorrence (we blush to write it), to formal indifference, and see where her claims will fit in. But to a Catholic such a position is at once natural and acceptable. He greets with joy whatever tends to enhance her merits, or increase her praise. He recognizes her as a being placed above his power of adequately doing justice to either. It is gratifying, therefore, and consoling to him to learn, even though it may not have struck him before, that the ever holy Virgin Mother of God holds a high, or the highest place, in any relation which binds her, on the one side, to the merciful counsels of God, and, on the other, to those for whom they are decreed.

2. And now let us proceed to inquire, what place those early records of our dear Saviour's life assign to His Parent in the order of grace. That she was full of grace when she was chosen by God for that high dignity, we have an angel's word.⁴ That the inpouring of all grace into the already full vessel, by the incarnation itself, made it overflow, who can doubt? We have only to examine what happened, on the first occasion of proof, to satisfy ourselves of this.

There must have been particular reasons, as we have before suggested, for the selection of any given gospel history from the abundance withheld; and, therefore, it is no presumption to believe, that one of the most remarkable and profitable events, succeeding the incarnation, was the visitation of Mary to Elizabeth. Simply read, it is a touching record. The humble condescension of that now sovereign lady towards her aged relative, in travelling into the mountains to congratulate with her, on her miraculous conception, and the lowliness of respect and veneration

⁴ Luke i. 28.

which with her greeting was received, and the breaking out from Mary's holy lips, of her first and last recorded canticle and prophecy, render this meeting remarkable in the eyes of the most superficial reader. Catholic meditation will go deeper than this. Gabriel's was the first salutation of Mary, Elizabeth's the second; and in the Church's both are united and fit together, and are riveted as naturally, as we are told the chains of Peter at Jerusalem and at Rome were, when brought into contact. "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb!" This might have been all spoken by one, so well do all its parts cohere. And what wonder? An archangel sent from God, and a matron filled with the Holy Ghost, are but different instruments moved by the same breath, and must sound in perfect harmony. And hence Elizabeth is the second, external witness of the incarnation, receiving knowledge of that marvellous mystery from the Spirit of God. What a full and overpowering sense of its grandeur, and of the dignity of Mary, do not her words convey? "Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me? and blessed art thou who hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord."* Suppose, three months before, it had been announced to Elizabeth that her relation Mary had come to see her, would it have appeared to her anything astonishing? She was the elder by many years, and her husband was a priest of high rank: could it have been thought a wonderful favour, an unexpected condescension, that the young maiden, betrothed to a carpenter, and their relation, should come to pay them both a visit? But Zachary, more-

* Vv. 43-45.

over, had been favoured by an angel's visit, a rare honour in those days, when the direct word of God had become precious, as in the time of Heli.' And let us observe, as we pass, that the respective positions of Zachary and Joseph, in relation to Elizabeth and Mary, are definitely distinguished by the difference of the two annunciations. In the first, the archangel Gabriel appears, and conveys the tidings of a son to the future father; in the second, he brings his message only to the immediate mother. But to return, Elizabeth, too, had been blest by a miraculous gift of a child in her old age, of a child pre-described by the greatest of the prophets. In the order of grace, therefore, both had been signally ennobled. How much more sublime must the position of the B. Virgin have appeared to them, how much superior her rank, that her coming to them should have been, to their minds, as a royal visit, of which they could not, in any way, consider themselves worthy? Nor must it be forgotten that the expression of these sentiments proceeded not merely from a personal conviction, but from the Holy Spirit, who spake through Elizabeth. The words which she uses are worthy of special note. "Whence is this to me?" In other words, "What have I, or what am I, that such an honour should be conferred upon me? However favoured I may have been myself, however honoured by God's choice, and God's blessing, the distance between me and thee is so immense, that I cannot account for this act of kindness." Then how does she describe it? "That the mother of my Lord should come to me?" She was indeed the mother of the Precursor; Mary, of her, and his, Lord. Her son was to close the Old Testament (for "until John was

' 1 Reg. iii. 1.

the law"^a), Mary's was to give and ratify the New; John was to be the sealer of prophecy, Jesus its fulfilment; John was the herald, Jesus the King. But the words "my Lord" recal to our minds a similar expression, where the two ideas of the Messiahship and the Godhead are united. "The Lord said to *my Lord*," as spoken by David, and explained in this sense by Christ himself:^b "*My Lord* and my God," as similarly applied by St. Thomas.¹ Elizabeth, then, the woman "just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord without blame;"^c Elizabeth the mother of the "greatest who rose born of woman,"¹ given to her miraculously; Elizabeth, in fine, the inspired of the Holy Ghost, here assigns to Mary a place immeasurably superior to her own: in virtue of her prerogative as the mother of the incarnate Word, the Saviour of the world, the only begotten of God the Father.

We may pause to ask with whose belief about the B. Virgin does this feeling of Elizabeth agree—with that of Catholics or with that of Protestants? The latter, as we are told in a most important work just published,^m consider her as "a good woman," perhaps a holy one. But with the exception of a few more ultra high-churchmen, none are prepared to exalt her so completely, by right of her prerogative, above every other order of sanctity, even that which the word of God has pronounced "without blame." In the Catholic system, on the contrary, no one will deny, that this superiority is not a matter of opinion, but one of universal belief; not a sentiment, but a doctrine. And it is assigned on the same ground as it is

^a Luke xvi. 16.^b Ps. cix. 1; Luke xx. 42.¹ John xx. 28.^c Luke i. 6.¹ Matt. xi. 11.^m "Jesus the son of Mary." By the Rev. J. B. Morris. Vol. i. p. 345.

by Elizabeth,—the incommunicable privilege of the divine maternity.

But all that we have said goes no further than allotting to the B. Virgin the highest place in the order of grace; whereas we have to inquire what is her relation to the economy, or dispensation, of grace. For we have remarked, that the Visitation is a fair test of this. If any Catholic sentiment, respecting her, give particular offence to the Protestant mind, it is one which forms the basis of confidence in our devotion towards her: that it pleases God to make her the channel of great spiritual graces. In reality, there is nothing very unnatural in the idea, when one considers that it pleased Him to give, through her, to the world, the Grace of graces, the very Fountain of every good gift. While the ordinary laws of nature were so overruled, as that she alone should have a part in this god-like work, they were so preserved, as that her share should be real and complete. She was the only being ever created, from whom God at any time received, or took, anything. And it was that humanity thus derived in truth from her,^a that, united with the divinity, in one person, but two natures, was the ransom of man, and the source of salvation and grace. After this, can it be wonderful, if by the same means are dispensed the fruit of that first and divine Gift? But let us see how it was in the Visitation.

Elizabeth thus addressed our Blessed Lady: "For behold, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy."^o It has been the unfailing tradition of the Church, attested, with perhaps one exception, by every father, that, in that instant, the Baptist was cleansed from

^a "Misit Deus Filium suum, *factum ex muliere*."—Gal. iv. 4.

^o Luke i. 44.

original sin, and sanctified in his mother's womb.^p In fact, it would be repugnant to imagine consciousness of his Redeemer's presence so prematurely granted him, and a joyful recognition of Him made, without this boon. For the very knowledge, thus miraculously communicated, would imply conviction of sin, whereof He was the Redeemer; and this could only inflict pain, unless accompanied by immediate removal of what estranged one from the other. The joy attendant on the consciousness reveals that this took place.

St. John was thus purged and hallowed in the womb; this was a fruit of redemption, and, in fact, its essential result. To purchase for us forgiveness of sin, to reverse the original curse, and make us once more children of God, and heirs of His kingdom, were the great objects which brought down the Word from the bosom of His Father. Not only was this purification of John, before birth, a fruit of Redemption, but it may be well considered the first act of our Saviour's life, in application of His atonement. It was indeed meet that His very first recorded action, being yet unborn, should be the forgiveness of a sinner. It was no less becoming that this first deed of mercy and grace—the forerunner of so many similar ones, should be performed in favour of the Precursor; the theme of whose preaching, the burthen of whose prophetic song may well be supposed to have been taught him now: “Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!”

Now through whose instrumentality was this first act of graciousness performed, this first application of the fruits of redemption made? There was nothing to prevent its taking place silently. Jeremias was not

^p See the proofs collected in the work referred to, “Jesus the Son of Mary,” vol. i. p. 378.

made aware till his commission commenced, that he had received consecration before birth.^a But in this instance, God was pleased to employ an outward agency, and we are told what it was. It was the voice, the word of His Mother. As soon as the voice of her salutation sounded in Elizabeth's ears, so soon, and no sooner, does the act of mercy take place. Had that salutation been anticipated or delayed, by her will, the prophet's liberation would have come sooner or later. Her word of greeting was the sentence of his forgiveness. The pardon was our Lord's alone, the grace His, the love His; but the conveyance of them all was left to her; she transmitted pardon, grace, and love to the exulting prisoner.

This gives us then the place assigned, by the early records of our Lord's life, to His most blessed Mother, in the economy of grace. It makes her the dispenser of the very first grace which He bestowed after His incarnation; a grace of the most sublime order, in favour of His dearest saint, the friend of the bridegroom. Now let us take, in conjunction with this remarkable fact, another, and a parallel one. We mean the performance of Christ's first miracle at Cana. From St. John's account it is evident, that our Lord performed it in obedience to His Mother, and even anticipated His appointed hour for her sake: "My hour is not yet come." Heedless of this protest, she feels confident that He will grant her request, and orders the servants to make preparations for the miracle.^r Again we have the same principle acted upon. The first temporal grace, though it required a miracle, and that miracle involved departure from a predetermined plan, was for her, at her request,

^a Jer. i. 5.

^r John ii. 4, 5.

through her means. The wine would never have been obtained, had she not interposed.

We may, perhaps, discover in all this a further relation between Mary and the dispensation of grace. The Baptist's sanctification was *his* mystical baptism, an anticipation, by special favour to him, of what other souls were to receive through the ordinance which he had to announce—the baptism of water and the Holy Ghost. The transmutation at Cana was the symbol, and the illustration, of a more wonderful change, in the Eucharistic wedding-feast. Each of these preliminary and preparatory demonstrations of power was made through the instrumentality of the Blessed Mary. Is this surprising? She was the *aurora consurgens*, the beautiful dawn of the glorious Sun of salvation. And does not the morning's brightness transmit to earth the first rays, the light, the warmth, the colour, the glow, the radiance of the great Orb, before he shows himself? Do not all these cheering qualities and appearances belong to him, yet do they not reach us even before himself, through a medium through which he diffuses them? Then let us not wonder (what Catholic *can* wonder?) that She in whom, and by whom, the Son of God would have Himself brought into the world, as She came before Him to announce Him, should also have gone before Him to make known, and anticipate in symbols of incomparable beauty, the two great sacraments by which Redemption would bear the fruits of adoption in the world.

Our divine Master's actions, as we have before now remarked, were never purposeless. They give us principles and analogies which cannot deceive us. His first action especially, in a given case, may be supposed to lay down a rule. Thus we are told how He

called His first disciples—Peter and Andrew, the sons of Zebedee, and Matthew. It was by a command to leave all and follow Him. We do not doubt, though not informed of it, that every other apostle was called on the same terms. We find how He treated Magdalen, and the woman accused before Him; and nothing would induce us to believe that He ever showed Himself austere or unforgiving. Nay, one action of our Lord suffices to give a certain law. For instance, could we doubt, after seeing His conduct at Cana, that had His blessed Mother, at any subsequent period of His life, asked Him for any other similar favour, or exercise of power, He would have refused it? The common sense of analogy forbids us to think so, with an *a fortiori* power; for it would have been much less to ask for a miracle when thousands were being performed, than to ask and obtain a first, and, in some sense, a premature one.

Again, this argument of analogy, or precedent, carries the Church always beyond this life. It is not necessary to enter upon any elaborate reasoning on this subject, but we may illustrate it by one or two examples. We assign to the apostles their place in the celestial court, by that which they occupied, in relation to our Saviour, on earth. We do not compare their actions with those of others, and award relative merit accordingly. We do not consider whether St. Francis Xavier, or St. Boniface, may not have laboured more, or converted more to Christianity, than St. James, whom Herod slew, so early as the year 42.* We do not even give them rank by reason of their martyrdom; for St. John, who was not allowed to lay down his life for Christ, holds his pre-eminence as an apostle far above all martyrs; nor would it make any

* Acts xii. 2.

difference in the place of any apostle, could it be proved that he did not die for the faith. Why this? Because our Lord, by His mere choice of the twelve to be His companions, and by the high commission, and the powers which He bestowed on them, assigned them a position above every other class of saints, and this we believe to be continued to them in heaven. Again, Magdalen and Martha were sisters. The second preserved to the end of life an unblemished character, and is honoured by the Church among her holy virgins. She follows the Lamb in heaven whithersoever He goeth. Her sister has not this privilege; she is a saint only as a penitent. Yet the Church bestows upon Magdalen her higher honours, and gives to Martha an inferior reverence.[†] Wherefore the difference? Simply because on earth our Redeemer, by His conduct, gave her this rule. It was clear that He granted precedence to the ardent penitent, whose love and tears had blotted out every trace of guilt, before her more faultless, but less fervent, sister. It was really the parable of the Prodigal in action; the blameless son who had never left home, saw the best garment prepared, and the fatted calf killed, for his wandering, but rescued brother.

If then there be truth in all the foregoing remarks, we come to the following conclusions: That, firstly, it pleased our Saviour to make His dear Mother His instrument in the first conveyance of the highest grace, and of the first fruit of redemption, after He came on earth; secondly, and similarly, He made her the first cause and motive in the exercise of His bene-

[†] The Feast of St. Mary Magdalen is a double, that of St. Martha only a semi-double. To the first is also accorded the Nicene Creed in the Mass; which is not read in that of any other female saint except the B. Virgin.

ficial miraculous powers, in favour of men; thirdly, His conduct being always a principle or rule, we may deduce, that on other similar occasions, He would have allowed her a similar privilege or right; and, fourthly, this argument of analogy does not end with His life, but gives the Church a just ground of belief and action, after both He and His Mother have been reunited in heaven. So far, then, from there being any strangeness, or impropriety, in considering the B. Virgin to be an ordinary channel of grace, and that of the highest order, such a view of her position seems borne out by our Lord's conduct, interpreted by the usual rules which we apply to it. This reasoning places our B. Lady, in the economy of grace, in the same position which we have seen her occupy in the economy of faith. She stands immediately next to her divine Son, above every other created being.

For if we compare her power even with that of the apostles, we shall find it of a different, and a superior, character. They had in all fulness a double gift; the sacramental energy in its completest development, and a miraculous command over nature and its laws. The first was surely not comparable to the conveying directly saving virtue, from the Son of God in her womb, to the Precursor in Elizabeth's; thereby not only cleansing him from original sin, but probably arming him with immunity against actual transgression, sanctifying him for his high calling and spotless life. And who will surmise that it was a higher gift to hold the delegated power of working miracles from her Son, than to have obedience owned by Him who communicated it, and to possess the acknowledged subjection of Himself and all His gifts? The meaning of the words, "*Et erat subditus eis,*"^a

^a "And He was subject to them."

came out to its full extent, in the act which closed the hidden life of Jesus, the miracle of Cana.

III. When we advance into the active life of the Word incarnate, every action speaks; and our difficulty is, out of so much that is admirable, what to choose as most excelling. We will take, therefore, as an illustration of our principles, a series of actions which, separately, may appear indifferent, but collectively afford a meaning too striking to be accidental, and yet only fitting into the Catholic system.

Our Lord selected His principal apostles from among the fishermen of the Sea of Galilee. The particular call of four is especially described, of the brothers Peter and Andrew,^x and the two sons of Zebedee.^y Thomas also and Nathaniel, supposed to be the same as Bartholomew, were of the same profession.^z The reasons for this selection do not enter into our present subject; though they are not without their interest and importance. But the choice once made, it is evident that our Saviour associated Himself to His apostles in their mode of life, and made use of it for His holiest purposes. A great part of the first year of His public life was passed on the borders of the Sea of Tiberias or Galilee; and He took advantage of His apostles' skill, and familiarity with the coast, to move from place to place. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth chapters of St. Mark will show how the fishermen's boat was almost His home.^a It was His place of sleep,^b the pulpit from which He addressed the people,^c His refuge in fatigue.^d Now, connected with this frequent use of the boat, are several remarkable passages of His life, which, apart from their

^x Matt. iv. 18.

^y Ib. 21.

^z John xxi. 2.

^a Mark iv. 35; v. 2, 18, 21; vi. 32, 54; viii. 10-14.

^b Ib. 38.

^c Luke v. 3.

^d Mark vi. 32.

miraculous character, present importantly instructive features. Indeed it may not be superfluous to remark, that in some of our blessed Redeemer's acts, the miracle may be considered as secondary: that is, we may contemplate the action independently of any miracle which accompanied it, and find that what was wonderful was only subservient to a lesson, inculcated by the action itself. Perhaps the instances on which we are going to dilate will afford the best illustration of this principle.

That our Saviour Himself saw, and consequently designed, an analogy between the apostle's and the fisherman's occupation, He Himself has deigned to inform us: "I will make you fishers of men;"* or, "from henceforth thou shalt catch men,"† were His words, naturally suggestive of the parallel. But besides this very natural analogy, there were surely others, which must be considered most apt, in another view. What more like the Church, launched on the sea of this world, and, freighted with a heavenly burthen, borne forwards towards a sure harbour, than the vessel laden with apostles, and bearing their Lord, lashed by the angry billows, and buffeted by the raging blast, tossed, shaken, distressed, almost broken, yet holding on her good course, and riding fearless over the wave, and through the storm? So natural is this comparison, that it has ceased to be one. The "nave," or "ship," of the material church is no longer so in simile; and it is scarcely an allegory to describe the visible, yet spiritual, Church, as a ship in which Christ is pilot, or, as the Catholic would call it, as "the bark of Peter." From the rude galley carved on the oldest monumental slabs in the catacombs, to Giotto's mosaic over the inner gate of St. Peter's, or

* Matt. iv. 19.

† Luke v. 10.

Raffael's miraculous draught of fishes, the symbol has been continued, till a very child in the Church can comprehend it.

But wherefore *Peter's* boat? This it is that we must see. If our blessed Saviour was pleased to retire into a vessel, and travel by it, it was not a chance one picked up on the shore, but one especially chosen by Himself to attend Him. "And He spoke to His disciples, that a small ship should wait upon Him, because of the multitude, lest they should throng Him."^c What bark was this, so privileged, and so ennobled, scene too of such wonderful works? "They that go down to the sea in ships, doing business on the great waters; these have seen the works of the Lord, and His wonders in the deep. He said the word, and there arose a storm of wind, and the waves thereof were lifted up. They were troubled, and reeled like a drunken man, and all their wisdom was swallowed up. And they cried to the Lord in their affliction, and He brought them out of their distresses. And He turned the storm into a breeze, and its waves were still. And they rejoiced because they were still; and He brought them to the haven which they wished for."^b All this was more literally fulfilled in the fisherman's skiff on Galilee's blue waters, than ever it was in the proud merchantman on its ocean path to Ophir.

There were two boats ever keeping company on that inland sea, and they are so mentioned together, that we can have no difficulty in determining to whom they belonged. When our Lord began to call His apostles, the two vessels were close to one another; He went but a few steps from Peter's to find that of Zebedee and his sons.¹ At another time going to the lake, He "saw two ships standing by it, and going up

^c Mark iii. 9.

^b Ps. cvi. 23.

¹ Matt. iv. 18-21.

into one of the ships that was Simon's, He desired him to draw back a little from the land, and sitting, He taught the multitudes out of the ship." The other ship was Zebedee's. For having given Simon a miraculous draught of fishes, "they beckoned to *their partners that were in the other ship*, that they should come and help them." Simon then "fell down at Jesus's knees, saying, Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was wholly astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of fishes which they had taken. And so also were James and John, the sons of Zebedee, *who were Simon's partners*. And Jesus said to Simon, Fear not, from henceforward thou shalt catch men."^k

This remarkable passage leaves us no doubt on several interesting points. Two fishing-boats keep company on the Sea of Galilee. They are consorts, fishing in company; *paranze*, as they are still called on the Mediterranean. One belongs to Peter, the other to the zealous and loving brothers, "the Sons of thunder." But we are carefully told that Jesus selected the first. Such a detail was surely of no great consequence in itself; and if specified must be so emphatically. It was Simon's boat that our Redeemer chose. Of what interest was this to Theophilus, or to the Greeks, for whom St. Luke wrote, if Peter was no more than any other apostle? Surely the mention of such a circumstance implies, that it was not by accident, but by choice, that his bark was taken for His use by our Lord. And for what purpose?

First, to teach from. This favoured boat is the one from which the Divine Master instructs the multitudes.

Secondly, to bestow on Peter the earnest of his

^k Luke v. 2-10.

future success, as the apostle of Jew and of Gentile. It is impossible to misunderstand the meaning of the allegory performed, not merely spoken. Our heavenly Lord has Himself explained it: "From henceforward thou shalt catch men, as plentifully and as marvellously as, just now, thou hast caught fishes. Thou shalt cast thy net into the vast and dark depths of the spiritual ocean, and thou shalt draw up in them safe, and lay up in thy bark, thousands, who shall bless the hour of thy capture." Nor is it possible to mistake the relative position of the parties in the scene. Peter is the chief, the actor; James and John are but his assistants and subordinates in the work. He begins it, they follow it up; he receives the Lord's gift, the blessing, the miracle; they partake of his fulness, and are enriched from his store. His stock is superabundant, his measure well shaken and running over; and they come to share it, almost to relieve him of it, as it runs over into their bosoms. And hence it is carefully added, that to Simon were Christ's words of promise exclusively addressed.

Here we have a case where the miracle is absorbed in the action. The lesson is to us more important; for the miracle is only wrought as a means to convey it. But we have another miracle perfectly analogous to this, wrought at a very different period of our Lord's earthly existence: after His resurrection. Between the two, Peter had given proof of his frailty, even of his dastardliness. John at the same time had shown himself faithful, even to the Cross. Peter, however, in company with him, his brother, and other disciples, expressed his intention of going a fishing. "They say to him, We come also with thee." Peter therefore is again at the head of the party, he is the captain of "the ship;" the rest are his mates and assistants, in

other words, his crew. They toil for the night in vain ; at morning, Jesus, unrecognized by them, stands on the beach, and bids them cast their net on the right side of the vessel. Their obedience is rewarded by a magnificent draught ; and Peter throws himself into the sea, to reach his Master, whom John has detected. Once more it is in favour of Peter's boat and net, that the sea is compelled to give up its prey ; and what makes the occurrence more personal and pointed is, that it is immediately followed by his Lord's charge, to feed His sheep and lambs.¹ Here was the distinct fulfilment of the promise made after the first miraculous draught. Simon's humility was there rewarded by an assurance of future apostleship ; Peter's penitent love is here crowned by elevation to its headship. On the first occasion, his virtuous timidity prompted him to throw himself on his knees, and entreat his Lord to depart from him a sinner ; on the second his penitential ardour urged him to dash into the sea, and go straight to his forgiving Master. Thus completely is the fishing of Peter's boat, after the resurrection, the counterpart of the same action before the denial.

Jesus then taught in Peter's ship, and gave to it the power of gathering into its nets, the multitude of the deep. But it was not always to be a calm with it ; storms were to assail it, even in spite of His benign presence ; storms so fierce, that they who manned it were to fear, that He had forgotten them, or had forgotten His power. " And behold a great tempest arose in the sea, so that the boat was covered with waves ; but He was asleep." But He soon awoke at their call ; and, reproving them for their want of faith, He " commanded the winds and the sea, and there

¹ John xxi. 2-17.

came a great calm.”^m Again we may ask, whose ship was this, to which this divine favour was accorded, of stilling the storm and smoothing the sea? It is not difficult to ascertain it. We are told that, “when Jesus was come into Peter’s house, He saw his wife’s mother lying, and sick of a fever; and He touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she arose and ministered to them.” At evening multitudes come to be healed; “and Jesus seeing great multitudes about Him, gave orders to pass the water, and when He entered into the boat, His disciples followed Him.”ⁿ It is from Peter’s house that He steps into the vessel; who can doubt that it was that apostle’s? And we may observe, that our Lord acts as the master of the boat. He commands its services, as He afterwards did that of the ass for His entry into Jerusalem. “Tell him that the Lord hath need of it, and he will let it go.”^o To Peter’s boat is granted this further privilege, that storms may be permitted to assail it, but not to wreck it, nor even to shatter it. The waves may dash over it, and threaten to engulf it, all may think it is about to perish, and Jesus may appear asleep, and heedless of their danger. But in good time, He awakens up, and His beaming eye is as the sun upon the billows, and His hand waves, a charm against the blast; and the rippling waters dance, rejoice, and sparkle in the light, and the soothing breeze glides playfully into the sail.

If the bark represent the Church of God, where is His Church? What is there that assumes the name, that has ever weathered a real storm, or rather that lives in the midst of tempests, with consciousness of a life that cannot fail, and of a vigour that cannot abate? Is it the stationary religion of the East, for

^m Matt. viii. 24.

ⁿ Ib. 14-23.

^o Matt. xxi. 3.

ages water-logged and motionless, in waters dead and pestilent; neither battling with them, nor assailed by them, left in unrippling, but fatal, calm; originally too well framed to fall to pieces, but stripped of mast and sail, and rolling heavily with the dull swell and fall of the element in which it happens to be embedded? For it has itself—

“nor breath nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship,
Upon a painted ocean.”^p

Unhonoured by persecution, not bearing even the note of the world's hatred, the Christianity of Asia feeds its languid life upon paynim toleration, without an aspiration of hope, or an effort of charity. It sends no missionary to distant regions to pluck the palm of martyrdom; it gives to the world no Sisters of Mercy, no Brothers of Christian Doctrine, no active clergy, no learned hierarchs, no studious monks, no zealous laity. It dreams on from age to age, achieving nothing great, and yielding nothing good; adding nothing to the knowledge or experience of the past, and opening no bright destiny to the prospect of the future. It is not worth a storm, the lazy, slumbering craft. Neither has it a net to cast abroad, or to draw home. It is quite clear *this* is not Peter's boat.

Then what shall we say of a more splendid and well-laden vessel nearer home, which calls itself modestly a branch only of Christ's Church? Surely there is some stir, if not activity about it; internal commotion, if not onward progress. Every modern improvement is there, to hide defects, or to mend imperfections; all is trim, neat, and respectable, as on any other vessel belonging to the state. And it is splendidly manned, with skilful officers and a zealous crew, whose whole

^p Coleridge.

interest is in its prosperity. Abundance and comfort are provided for all on board. But it keeps carefully under the shelter of a safe shore, it tempts not the storm, it shuns the perils of the deep. Its sails and masts are not made for rude conflict with the wind and wave, it loves the smoother waters of vicinity to earth.

“ Nil picris timidus navita puppibus
Fidit : tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.”^a

It has not the fisherman's blessing; it draws into its own compass nothing from without; it sends out quietly and decently, as a genteel angler might, not as depending on it, its well-ordered tackle; but it pretends not even to gain, by it, increase. Yet of conflict and clamour it has enough. Within all is dissension, contention, strife. It is no wonder that it does not move. If its chief commander set the sails in one direction, his mate will trim them oppositely on another mast. If one rows forward, the other strikes backwards. And still more strange, there are those who applaud, and think their bark is going bravely on, because one out of twenty engaged in its direction, pulls alone against the rest. This surely was no more than the other, the ship to which it was said “Duc in altum,” go out into deep waters, and there face the billows, and throw into them the apostolic net. It is none of Peter's boat.

And moreover these, and others, have one complete disqualification: they profess *not* to be Peter's bark. They repudiate the connection; they are indignant at being supposed to have anything special to say to him. They have made their choice of another ship, or of many smaller craft, but they will take particular

^a Horace.

care that it be not his. Anything but that. Now St. Mark tells us, that when our blessed Lord went into the ship, where He slept during the storm, "there were other ships with Him,"^r that is, keeping in His wake. What became of them during the tempest? We hear no more of them. Only one ship had Jesus on board, and only of it is the Gospel narrative. They may have put back to harbour, they may have been dispersed in the darkness; some may have been cast on shore. But we read of only one that reached its destination, because only one bore the sure Pilot, and the Queller of the storm; and that was Peter's.

But there remains one more instance, in what we may term the sea-faring part of our Saviour's mission, of its connection with St. Peter's prerogatives. We allude to the miracle of our Lord's walking on the waters, related succinctly by St. John,^s and more fully by St. Matthew.^t In the storm above described, Jesus was in the boat, but sleeping; here He was absent but near. In the midst of the tempest He appears walking on the waters. The apostles are terrified, and their Divine Master reassures them. There is one of them, however, bolder than the rest. As afterwards he casts himself into the sea to swim to his Lord, so now Peter claims the desperate evidence of walking to Him on the waters. It was a test worthy of himself; ever ardent, ever eager. "Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come to Thee upon the waters. And he said: Come. And Peter going down out of the boat walked upon the waters, to come to Jesus." It was important, nevertheless, that he should be informed of the danger into which his ardent temperament would lead him. As later he would protest his readiness to

^r Mark iv. 36.^s John vi. 19.^t Matt. xiv. 26.

die rather than deny his Lord, and yet would fail ; so here it was expedient to show him, of how little avail would be his own strength, where supernatural support was needed. For, "seeing the wind strong, he was afraid ; and when he began to sink, he cried out, saying : Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus, stretching forth His hand, took hold of him, and said to him : O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt ? And when they were come up into the boat the wind ceased." Now here are several remarkable circumstances. Peter alone claims the right of walking upon the billows. It is not the ship that must support *him* ; it is not because he is in it, that he does not perish. He has a power independent of it, so to speak ; which no other apostle has. The right hand of Jesus is directly his support, when fearless and alone he commits himself to the troubled waters. To doubt that, so supported, he has this marvellous prerogative, is to be of little faith. He is allowed partially to sink, that this reproof may be administered to him ; and, through him, to us. And then, "when *they* came up into the boat, the wind ceased." For they go together hand in hand, Jesus and Peter, the Head sublime, invisible, and divine, and the Head inferior, visible, and earthly, of the Church—the hand of one is power, the other's is confidence ; thus linked they give security. Both ascend the ship together, from which they seemed to have withdrawn their care, Master and pilot ; and to their joint presence is attributed the calm. Can anyone believe that there was no connection between our Saviour's act and Peter's ? That the one was not performed for the sake of the other ? Did Jesus defer accompanying His disciples, and follow them walking on the waters, or, instead of thus passing over the narrow sea, go on board their

boat half-way across, only to astonish them? Is all that relates to Peter merely secondary? On the contrary, no one can read this passage, and doubt that the whole narrative is inserted mainly for the sake of the apostle's share in it. It is clearly the *lesson* of the history.

Now let us come to our practical conclusions from all that we have here put together.

1. It is evident that our Saviour, during His mission in Galilee, wished, or rather ordered, that a boat should attend Him, from which He preached, and in which He sailed. And though His beloved disciple had one at His disposal, He gave preference to that of Peter.

2. Three classes of miracles are recorded, as taking place in connection with the boat and its occupation : two miraculous draughts of fishes, two quellings of storms, and our Lord and Peter walking on the water.

3. Every one of these is wrought in favour of this apostle, or his bark ; and the discourses preceding or following them relate to him.

In the first draught of fishes, as we have seen, he is ordered to go into the deep and cast his net; and after his successful obedience, the promise is made to him that he shall take men. In other words, our Saviour shows that the material action was symbolical of a spiritual one; and the miracle wrought was a proof or guarantee of the truth of the promise. It was as though our Lord had said: "In the same wonderful manner, by the same power, to the same extent, and as surely as you have this day taken such an unwonted netfull of fishes, you shall in due time haul from the depths of sin, misery, and ignorance, the souls of men." In the second, it is Peter who has led forth the apostles to their work, and again a mira-

culous capture rewards him, upon obeying the same command. So completely was it his, that when "Jesus saith to them, Bring hither of the fishes which you have now caught, Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land;"^u a net which, though overladen, was not allowed to break. The other apostles had brought the net to the shore, but it required the presence of Peter to draw it upon land. And in what did this miracle end? In nothing but the fulfilment of the assurance, given him after the earlier corresponding miracle. Our Lord here met His disciples, apparently for only one purpose,—to invest Peter, before them, with the dignity of supreme Pastor. The only discourse that follows, is the thrice-repeated commission to feed the flock; and as if to show that all was then ended, Jesus leads his now inducted Vicar away from the rest, for confidential discourse, by adding, "Follow me." So individual was this call, that when Peter would have had his, and Christ's, loved one to join him, he was checked and refused by the words: "What is it to thee? follow thou me."^x It seems impossible to reject the analogy between the two passages, and not to consider one as the complement of the other. In both, Peter is the distinct end of the miracle, both wrought in his favour, and introductory to his privileges.

In the two cases of stilling the storm, the same connection with the Prince of the Apostles is to be found. In his boat our Lord appears to slumber, and awakes to reproach His followers generally, for want of faith, or confidence in Him, and for fear that the vessel could founder, in which He was pleased to abide. In the second instance He seems to them to be further off, to be out of the ship, and the storm

^u John xxi. 10.

^x Ibid. 19-22.

goes on, till He and Peter have shown themselves on board.

Finally, not to repeat what has been so lately described, Peter is taught to tread fearlessly the waters alone; and is reprovèd, in particular, for want of confidence in his powers to do so, in the very words addressed to all the apostles in the first storm. As though it were said to him: "If the others showed weakness, in doubting of their safety in the boat, thou dost the same, in hesitating about thy security independent of it. Besides the assuring presence of Jesus in the ship, thou hast His right hand supporting thee in personal safety, over the abyss. This can no more swallow up thee, than it." And this assurance is confirmed to him by the miracle.

We certainly do not mean to deny, that our Lord may, in the course of His Galilean mission, have entered other barks, besides Peter's. But this we claim as proved, that the Holy Spirit has been pleased to select for our special instruction, out of no matter how many, those occurrences in which St. Peter is specially concerned. A Protestant will say: This is merely accidental or secondary; what matters it if the boat were his, or anybody's else, the miracles and lessons were independent of this consideration. Now a Catholic has too much reverence to treat inspired writings so. With us there is no chance, no accident, in what God does, or says. We cannot consider it a mere result of blind chance, that every evangelist should have given us narratives of our Lord's "going down to the sea in ships," and yet have, in every specific instance, been careful to let us know that Peter's was the chosen bark. Moreover, we cannot consider it accidental, that every single miracle wrought on board, should have been connected with him. If it was

matter of indifference whose the boat was which Jesus took, if no lesson depended on it, why are we distinctly told, that there were two boats, and that He selected one, which was Simon's?

All this is unimportant to a Protestant, because it bears on nothing in his system. When even he may be disposed to allow, that the ship tossed by the storm was an emblem of the Church, and Jesus subduing the war of elements no unfit symbol of His ruling presence in her, he will not see any connection with the destinies of the vessel, in the presence of Peter. He gives no definite meaning to those clear and most dogmatic passages, in which supremacy is bestowed on him. And so all the beauty and interest of a minute application of each detail, which we have drawn, perhaps tediously forth, is lost upon him.

But the Catholic has begun by taking in their literal force, those passages in which Peter is as closely bound with the constitution of the Church, as the foundation is with a building. The safety of one is the security of the other. He becomes an essential, not an accidental part, a primary, not a secondary element, in its formation. The Church of Peter is also the Church of Christ, because the fold of Christ is likewise the fold of Peter. These principles laid down, in obedience to other positive teachings of Christ, all the narratives which we have analyzed have a consistent meaning, as well as a definite object. They not only cohere most admirably, but they complete, and illustrate, most beautifully, the constitution of the Church.

According to this view, the Church is but one; for though there may be other, and stately-looking ships, launched upon the ocean, there is necessarily only one in which Jesus is pleased to abide; and that is Peter's.

To it alone is given assurance of safety, whatever storms may assail it ; for in it alone is He, whom winds and waves obey. All are safe who are embarked in it, none who are without it. To it alone is committed the work, not only of mastering, but still more of gaining, the world. It is not a rich argosy laden with treasure, nor a lofty galley rowed by captives, nor a fierce war-ship, bristling with instruments of destruction, but a fisherman's craft, intent on filling itself with living spoil, snatched from the gulf of destruction. Now, when the Catholic reads all this described in allegory, by our Saviour's actions on the sea, and notes how exactly it fits his theory of the Church, whereof Peter is the head, his faith is strengthened and his heart consoled. For he discovers a purpose in every detail, in every word ; and sees that each has been registered for his sake. These lesser coincidences serve to confirm a belief, based upon direct teaching ; they fill up the picture, they add to it colour and life. If the Catholic view is right, and if Peter was meant to occupy in the Church of Christ, the place which it assigns him, then every smallest particle of these narratives has its significance, and was studiously recorded for an important purpose. Remove him from it, and there is no intended meaning in the details of their histories ; or rather, we reverently say it, they are calculated to confirm, what the Protestant must consider, an erroneous system.

And not only is the Catholic strengthened in his dogmatic convictions by these corroborative, and supplementary, arguments, but he derives from them most comforting assurances. It is no fancy-picture that comes before him, when he thinks of the tempest-tossed fisherman's bark. He looks at its trials and

its triumphs through the very mist of ages. Afar, as if leaving the distant coast, its first harbour, he beholds it steering straight for the very port of the earth's capital, in serenest confidence. It is not long before the gates of hell let forth a blast more fearful than Æolus could command from his cavern of storms. The abyss is upheaved, and the might of earth sweeps over it, to destroy the daring invader.

“ Ponto nox incubat atra.

Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus æther :

Præsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.”⁷

But death from such a tempest has charms for the valiant crew. On, the fearless little bark holds its course; now it is almost lost to sight in the war of persecuting elements, now it crests nobly the topmost wave, till we find it safe riding in smooth water. Peter has been acknowledged the spiritual conqueror of Rome. Yet he must not rest. After the resurrection he said, “I go a fishing,” and this is his occupation, and his delight, till the end of time. What a glorious employment it has been to him! How his heart rejoiced, much more than on taking a hundred and fifty-three large fishes, when Patrick drew in his net on Erin's coast, or Augustin on England's, or Boniface in Germany's deep streams, and brought into the ample ship their willing inhabitants! Nor was this calm and peaceful pastime for him. High in the regions of the north commenced a swelling surge, which broke, in successive waves, over the toiling bark. Hun, Vandal, Goth, and Lombard, in rapid course followed each other, and seemed to overwhelm it in their turn. And still the fisherman went on; while his tempest-tight skiff shook off the cataract of waters, he plied

⁷ Æneid i.

his net in its very depths, and carried from them their living prey. And now again came the calm, and the ocean seemed still. But soom the storm began again. The rude assault of a rough, indocile age, of the world of an iron chivalry, broke loose, again and again, against the charmed ship of Peter. For centuries the conflict lasted, and the gallant vessel held on its course, dashing the spray from its prow. Then came a trial, forgotten for ages—since Arius and Nestorius divided the Church. Mutiny on board, insubordination, rebellion. Treacherous crews, from its own decks, man a hostile fleet; its own skill and prowess, learnt within it, are turned against it. Able foes, armed with all the powers of earth, threaten her destruction, and swear implacable hatred. And still the noble vessel fears them not, but goes undaunted on her errand. She sees them tossed to and fro by every wind, sailing apart, without compass to guide them, quarrelling with one another, and only combined when they agree to assail her; and she notes how they have not been able to bear away with them the grace of her noblest functions; no shred of the apostolic net has been allowed to be filched from her. She alone bears aloft the Cross as her banner; she alone boasts that Peter, in his successor, sits at her helm; nay, she alone dares proclaim that she has Jesus Christ Himself on board, as He was on the fisherman's craft on the Sea of Galilee. Such is the Catholic's review of the past, and in it he reads the assurance of the future. When, a year ago, this country was agitated from end to end, in opposition to Catholic progress; when the Government, the Parliament, the Establishment, the Press, the aristocracy, seemed combined to thwart the purely ecclesiastical action of the Church; when all that clamour, eloquence, insolence, and calumny, addresses,

speeches, meetings, essays, and journalism could do, to raise a storm, was unsparingly and perseveringly continued for months, to overwhelm the new hierarchy; in what did we place our hopes, nay, our assurance, that peace would return, and the Church would be justified, by results, in the wise measure which she had taken? Not merely in the knowledge that such a step had been long and wisely considered, not in the high estimate which we had formed, of the virtues and gifts of the Supreme Pastor from whom it proceeded. But knowing that the Letters Apostolic which he issued were given under "the Fisherman's Ring," we could not be of little faith, or doubt that what was thus declared to be the solemn act of Peter, partook in the promises made to him, and the assurances given, that his bark should not be crushed by the tempests of earth. And so when pontiff after pontiff, like the sixth, the seventh, or the ninth, Pius, seemed borne apart from the vessel which he guided, to experience, in his own person, the whole violence of the storm, and walk alone over the troubled and treacherous waters, never did the Catholic doubt, that the powerful right hand, in which the Psalmist trusted, and which was stretched forth to Peter, would support them, and guide them, and bring them safe back, if necessary, to the faithful friends from whom, in body, they had been torn. "*Etenim illuc manus Tua deducet me, et tenebit me dextera Tua.*"

IV. We will now briefly bring together a few passages, which refer to a point of secondary importance, but not devoid of interest. Among the puzzling inconsistencies of Protestantism is its Sabbatarian theory. After protesting, in every possible way, against tradition, and Church authority, the Protestant accepts, without a murmur, the change of the Jewish Sabbath

into the Christian Sunday, of which the only voucher is tradition, and the only foundation ecclesiastical authority. Having thus admitted perhaps the greatest stretch of this power and of that testimony that exists, he begins to forget that any change has been made, and applies to the new day of rest, all the burthens and restrictions of the old. He tries to overlook that it is the first, and not the last, day of the week ; nay, if he become more solemn in his speech, through increased rigour of religious notions, he rejects the profane name of "Sunday," and studiously and emphatically styles it "*the Sabbath.*" These two terms have become positively watchwords ; a Catholic never uses the latter. "Sunday" sounds to his ears as a day of radiance and joy ; as a day of smiles at home, and laughing peals of gladness in the air ; as a day of cheerful service to Him who loves a cheerful giver, in canticles and hymns, and noble offices of prayer. But "Sabbath" rings with Puritanism in the ears, and gives the idea of drawling sounds, and sour looks, of bitter theology and domestic gloom. There is no balminess, no sweetness in the name. It belongs to a dispensation that is dead, and to obligations which the law of love has abated, or abolished. But singularly enough, that religious system which affects to put all its faith in Christ, and to loath the Law and its works, by a judicial blindness, clings to its very deadest branches, and tries to find there its most nutritious fruit. Having reduced all its practical worship to the compass of one day, it makes that a mere superstition ; it condenses, only to corrupt.

What makes this strange infatuation still more amazing is, that in the New Testament, it is so clearly attributed, as a characteristic, to the Pharisee. A simple-minded reader of the Gospel would naturally

ask, who defended Sabbatarian strictness, our Lord, or His enemies? Who there represent the strait-laced party? It is impossible to hesitate in answering.

Not less than seven times in the Gospel history, He lays down His doctrine of the Sabbath, in opposition to Pharisaical objections. Surely He must have considered this an important question of moral and ecclesiastical observance, so to expound it. But applying our often-repeated rule, we must conclude, that supposing our Redeemer to have never spoken besides on the subject, there was a particular reason for recording so many different inculcations of one idea. If, on the other hand, we maintain that He much oftener argued the point, we must still conclude, that a strong motive led to so many repetitions of the same subject, in a record so limited as the Gospel. In other words, the selection of this topic seven times, in picking out the materials of that sacred history from a mass left behind, proves it to be one on which the spirit of God was pleased, that we should accurately know the divine doctrine in the New Law. It shows an earnestness in guarding Christianity against a particular theory; and we may safely conclude, against one sure to be taught. We must therefore take actual, not imaginary, systems; and judge which among them our Saviour taught, and which He excluded. Without entering into the details of each case, we will analyze the evidence before us, and reduce it to distinct heads.

1. First, therefore, we will remark, that all the Gospels give more than one instance of attack upon our Lord for laxity on Sabbath observance. St. Matthew and St. Mark give two cases; St. Luke gives four, two being the same as those evangelists record; and St. John three, perfectly distinct ones. This con-

currence of the inspired writers on a secondary topic is very striking.

2. Of these cases, three directly accompany the performance of miracles, three are indirectly connected with miraculous works, and one relates to an ordinary occurrence.

3. We will proceed with the first class. A withered hand is cured in the synagogue.* This is done with previous attention called to the fact of its being the Sabbath day; the Pharisees put the question whether it be lawful to heal on that day; and Jesus first defends the propriety of doing it, and then confirms His assertion by the miraculous cure. A man sick with dropsy comes into the house of a Pharisee, where He is a guest. It is again the Sabbath, and His enemies "watch Him." He, this time, puts the very question to them which, on the former occasion, they had put to Him: "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?" Again He argues the point, and performs a miracle to prove his doctrine.* A woman bowed down by an ailment of eighteen years' duration is in the synagogue on the Sabbath; she does not ask to be relieved; but Jesus calls her, and lays His blessed hands upon her, and she is made straight. "The ruler of the synagogue" (being angry that Jesus had healed on the Sabbath) "answering said to the multitude" (that is, not liking to address our Lord, with whom, in reality, he was displeased, reprov'd Him through the people, "saying), Six days there are wherein ye ought to work, in these therefore come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath day."b Again our Lord replies, vindicating what He had done, and

* Matt. xii. 10; Mark iii. 2; Luke vi. 6.

* Luke xiv. 1.

b Ibid. xiii. 10.

beginning His answer by the significant words: "Ye hypocrites."

The next instance is also one in which the attack is first made through the subject of the miracle. Jesus cured a man at the pool of Bethsaida, saying to him: "Arise, take up thy bed and walk." He obeyed; "and it was the Sabbath that day." Immediately he was told, "It is the Sabbath, it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed." Upon discovering that Jesus had given him the command, the Jews transfer their hatred to Him. "Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath." And when He again defended Himself, saying, that as His Father worked until now, so He worked; that is, that as His Father, on the Sabbath, went on with His beneficent work of Providence, so did He, who had the same power; the Jews only redoubled their hatred. "Hereupon therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He did not only break the Sabbath, but also said God was His Father, making Himself equal to God."^o

After this discourse, our blessed Lord left Jerusalem, where it took place, and taught in Galilee. On His return to the holy city, he again resumed this subject, in the following singular terms: "One work I have done, and ye all wonder. Therefore Moses gave you circumcision—and on the Sabbath day you circumcise a man. If a man receive circumcision on the Sabbath day, that the law of Moses may not be broken, are you angry at me, because I have healed the whole man on the Sabbath day?"^a Now, no miracle has preceded this speech, in the Gospel narrative; and as we can hardly suppose the allusion to be made to the

^o John v. 1.

^a Ibid. vii. 22.

miracle wrought at a former visit, nor could that be called "one work," for many signs had been wrought between, we are naturally led to suppose, that St. John, or rather the divine Spirit, considered the record of this instruction more important than that of the miracle. The latter was therefore omitted, and the former preserved.

Again the Pharisaical spirit is roused, when Jesus performs one of the most severely tested of His miracles,—the cure of the man born blind. He might at once have restored his sight by a word or touch. He preferred performing the cure, by what might be called a mechanical, or manual, labour. He made clay, and therewith anointed the man's eyes. "Now it was the Sabbath, when Jesus made clay, and opened his eyes." This is sufficient ground with the Pharisees for rejecting the miracle. "This man is not of God, who keepeth not the Sabbath."^a

One more instance remains, wholly unconnected with any miraculous operation; yet three evangelists have recorded it. The incident is trifling, but its instruction very great. The apostles going through a corn-field on the Sabbath, pluck the ripe ears, rub them in their hands, and eat the grains. This mechanical operation is construed by the Pharisees into a breach of the Law, and reproved as such. Our Redeemer defends His disciples in the same manner as He had defended Himself.^f What gives particular interest to this case is, that each evangelist who records it, proceeds immediately to the narrative of the cure of the withered hand, as though our Lord wrought this miracle expressly to confirm His vindication of the apostles.

4. From all these facts we conclude, that in seven

^a John ix. 14.

^f Matt. xii. 1; Mark ii. 23; Luke vi. 1.

cases, two views of Sabbath observance were discussed between our Saviour and the Jews; and that in every one, He represents and upholds the lenient and moderate side, they the intolerant and oppressive. Now, a similar discrepancy exists at the present day, between Catholics and Protestants, and there can be no doubt which party corresponds to each of the former disputants. It may be said that zeal for the Sabbath was carried to excess by the Jews, in every one of these instances, far beyond what the most infatuated Sabbatarian nowadays would require. We are not so sure of that. We need not go back to the days of wild puritanical fanaticism, for instances of extreme rigour on this subject. We need not travel to old Banbury for the well-known enforcement on feline propensities of Sabbath observance, by making a solemn example of the cat that presumed to mouse on the Sunday. But we recollect not many years ago a case of death from starvation at a large town in the West of England, because the society from which relief was sought, rigidly refused to grant it on the Lord's day. Still more recently a well-known instance was publicly quoted, of a lady of high rank, who in vain implored conveyance by railway in Scotland, to pay the last offices of affection to a dying relation, though empty mail-trains passed to and fro. And we know that a similar refusal was made to a Catholic ecclesiastic of high dignity in the same country, when it was the only means of bearing the last rites of religion to a departing parishioner. Now here is a Sabbatical observance preferred to charity; in one instance, though death might be, and was, the consequence. This is carrying the principle to the full Pharisaic standard. "Come and be healed on week-days." In fact, what would any of the four who were purposely cured on

the Sabbath, have lost by waiting till next morning? After eighteen, and thirty-eight years', infirmity, one day more would not have been a heavy addition: the dropsical patient could still walk, and therefore could not be in any danger; and the withered hand could not be much needed on the Jewish Sabbath. Had our Lord said, in these cases: "To-morrow come and I will heal you, for this is the Sabbath," He would have spoken words with which Exeter Hall would have rung, and given a text to be stereotyped by tract-dealers, and engraved for children's copies. But He says exactly the contrary always; and we find the upholders of the Sabbatical superstition, they who pretend to look to our Saviour for everything, carefully overlooking His teaching on the subject, suppressing His words, and running to the law of fear, and its abolished rigours, nay to its exaggerated traditions among the Jews, for the pattern of their observance.

5. On the other hand, they tax Papists, particularly on the Continent, with being habitual Sabbath-breakers. We condemn utterly every violation that is contrary to the laws of the Church; all traffic, public works, shop-keeping, and unnecessary business. But we reprove no less the other extreme, which forms the Protestant principle. Rest was not meant to be idleness, and no Christian festival was intended to be gloomy. One cannot fail to be struck by the strong language employed by our Redeemer, when He denounced the rule of Sabbath observance, which our modern reformers have selected. "Ye hypocrites!" And the charge of this hateful vice is fully justified by what we read in the passages referred to. The poor disciples pluck some ears of corn, "being hungry," and eat them. The Pharisees immediately cry out,

“Behold Thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do on the Sabbath day.”^a And then we find, that “when Jesus went into the house of one of the chief of the Pharisees, *on the Sabbath day to eat bread*, they watched Him.”^b Now, is not this exactly the case with our modern Sabbatarians? They always have one law of observance for the rich, and another for the poor. The one must not pluck an ear of corn on the Sabbath, without the rich man’s reprehending him, and then going home to his luxurious dinner with his friends. It used to be proposed to suppress all Sunday cooking in public bakeries, where alone the poor could have a warm meal prepared, on their only day of rest; but no St. Andrew ever dreamt of shutting off the steam of the boiler, or putting a break on the smoke-jack, of aristocratic kitchens. There is something hypocritically profane in the spectacle, described as taking place on a Sunday at fashionable Scotch kirks, of some twenty carriages at the door, with their human appurtenances, waiting, for devout listeners to a discourse against Sunday travelling! Nor have we ever heard that the eloquent Boanerges ever whispered a *wee* word of reproof to the gentle folks, for their zeal to lay the burthens of the law only on the already overburthened shoulders of the poor. Depend upon it, he never called them “hypocrites,” though that is Scripture.

6. However inconsistent was the Pharisee’s theory of having a good dinner himself, while he was horrified at a hungry poor man’s rubbing the wheat-ears in his hand, to eat them, our dear Lord, who looked to our instruction, did not hesitate to dine with him on that day. And He justified his conduct by the cure of the dropsical man, who possibly presented himself with

^a Matt. xi. 2.

^b Luke xiv. 1.

the connivance of the host; for he, with his friends, were "watching" our Lord before the cure. He did not, however, despise Jewish prejudices merely to this extent. He braved hatred and persecution, for His views and practice regarding the Sabbath. St. Luke tells us, that the Scribes and Pharisees, on account of His healing on the Sabbath day, "were filled with madness, and they talked to one another, what they might do to Jesus."¹ St. Matthew explains, that this consultation was, "how they might destroy Jesus."² St. John informs us, that "therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath."³ This contempt for the prejudices of the bigot Jews, this braving of their hatred and persecution, for the sake of a principle on such a subject, at once stamps the view of those men with the note of reprobation and wickedness. One so meek as Jesus, who had come to "fulfil all justice," who asserted boldly, and with divine truth, that "not a jot nor tittle of the Law should pass away," who attended to every legal obligation, from His twelfth year to the eve of His death, who would "not bruise the broken reed, nor extinguish the smoking flax," so tender was His tread to be on earth; one, in fine, who was come to purchase the soul of the most cynical Pharisee at as dear a rate as that of His holy Mother, must have considered that an evil principle, which He crushed so unmercifully seven times, and which to uproot, He braved the fury and hatred of the dominant party in church and state. Hence the Catholic moralist well understands the term *scandalum pharisaicum* as opposed to the *scandalum pusillorum*,^m the first of which may safely be despised; but the latter, never.

¹ Luke vi. 11.² Matt. xii. 14.³ John v. 16.^m "Pharisaical scandal," and "scandal of Christ's little ones."

7. Finally our Lord, whose example so clearly sustains the temperate and Christian views of the Catholic Church on this ritual question, lays down principles conformable to His practice, which form the basis of this Church's conduct. "The Son of Man is the Lord also of the Sabbath; the Sabbath was made for Man, and not man for the Sabbath." These two aphorisms contain the whole of our doctrine and of our discipline on the subject. He who declared Himself Lord of the Sabbath, also said to His apostles: "All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth; as My Father hath sent me, so I also send you."^a Within the compass of this delegated power came the Sabbath; and the Catholic at once acquiesces in the transfer of its obligations, by the apostles, to the Sunday. And if the Sabbath was made to serve man, whereas man was not created to be the slave of the Sabbath,—man's true interests are to be the standard, whereby the Church will ever regulate her precepts respecting it. Moroseness and debauchery are equally alien from her thoughts; nor could the spouse of Christ have devised a mode of spending it, which makes its morning dull, and its evening dissipated. It could not have crammed into it the spiritual duties of the six other days, and so made it an iron yoke. It could not have sanctified it by excluding from it the performance of even charitable works. It could not have consecrated it to stupidity and sloth, by withdrawing from it all innocent recreation and refreshing cheerfulness. All this would not have been considering or treating the Sabbath as made for man. This can only be the case where it promotes his happiness; where it instructs his mind, applies rightly his intellect, tones

^a Matt. xxviii. 18; John xx. 21.

his feelings, by a gentle sway, to wholesome kindness, raises his thoughts by a noble and beautiful worship, improves his social and domestic relations by a more virtuous intercourse, invigorates his frame by seasonable repose, mingled with temperate recreation ; and, in fine, makes him live one day of every seven of his life under the chastening discipline of religion, but still more under the sweet influence of God's countenance, felt to be more present, more benign, more radiant than on other days, with an eye more watchful, indeed, over evil, but more open to our better deeds. This is the Lord's Day of the New Law ; this is the Sunday, on which the glory of the spiritual firmament reigns supreme.

V. We opened our essay with the transactions of our blessed Saviour's infancy, and we will close it with the last actions of His life. We promise to be very concise.

Here, as in the noblest tragedy, action becomes equivalent to suffering, and our Redeemer may be said to do for man, whatever man does against Him. Now, to our minds, there is nothing more decisive of the respective claims of Catholic and Protestant to be the religion of the New Testament, than the manner in which they treat its most solemn portion, that which records the final act of redemption. The very essence of modern Protestantism is, to regard this greatest act as a mere abstraction. The mind is concentrated on the sole apprehension of an accomplished atonement, and instrumentality by death. By a process eminently selfish, the price and its purchase are transferred to the individual soul, appropriated by it, and thus viewed extraneously to Him whose they really are. There is no contemplation in the Protestant view, it is one of mere self-application. To contrast

it with the Catholic idea, and so illustrate both, perhaps a simple parable may be useful.

Let us imagine to ourselves two spendthrifts, for whose debts a loving father has given bond. The day of reckoning arrives, and the surety comes willingly to pay the ransom. One son stands by, grateful indeed, but cold and calculating. He looks not at the huge sum that is counted out, but is eagerly waiting for the last coin to be told, and then exultingly cries out, "I am free;" and goes his way. But there is another beside him, who watches with the intensest gaze every particle of the precious offering, because he knows what it has cost his father to procure it. In every piece he recognizes the fruit of some privation undergone, or some cruel humiliation endured. On one he reads his father's hunger, on another his abject toil. He remembers, as one portion of the store is brought out, that it was gained at the expense of calumny and hatred from friends; and when another is produced, that it was earned by the loss of those most dear to him. At every instalment he looks into his dear parent's countenance, and sees its manly sorrow, and its varying emotions, as these same recollections pass over his heart; and though the smile of love is on his lips, as the last golden drachma falls from his hand, at thought of what he has achieved for his children, even this is but more heartrending to the tender one of the two; and he almost loses all sense of his own liberation, in the anguish inflicted by its price. He thinks not of himself, for love is not selfish. He goes not away singing, "I am ransomed, I am free," but he rushes to his father's feet, exclaiming, "Thou hast purchased me, I am thine!"

Such we believe to be the true difference between the Protestant and the Catholic mode of considering our

Saviour's passion. The one looks at it with an acquisitive eye, the other with the eye of love. To the Protestant it would have been the same if the simple act of death had been recorded, and its preliminary and accompanying sufferings had been suppressed. Not one emotion would have been lost to him, any more than, in his system, any advantage. What does the cruel agony in Gethsemane give him? It does not redeem him. What does he gain by the welts and gashes of the Roman scourges? They do not ransom him. What profits him the mock coronation, and its insulting homage? It does not save him. And then what can Mary and John do for him at the cross's foot? He declares he does not care for them. What matters it to him if the seamless garment be diced for, or rent? It bears no deep mystery of faith to him. No: only let him secure that moment when the last breath passes over the Victim's lips, and it is enough—for it is the atonement.

Yet all that we have briefly enumerated was suffered for our sakes, and recorded for our profit. Although the last piece completed our ransom, all that preceded it composed the sum. For surely our divine Redeemer did nought in vain, nor aught superfluously. He was generous, indeed, but not wasteful. The Catholic, therefore, treasures up in his heart every smallest gift of love, where the smallest is immense. From this minuteness of Catholic perception springs a sense of reality, an approximation of feeling, which makes that not merely vivid, but present, which is separated from us by ages. On the other side is a mere hazy and vague generality, merging in a conception of the mind, instead of a real fact. And from this unreality easily springs up a lurking infidelity, that saps the foundation of Christianity. The mind comes to think it

unnecessary to trouble itself about details, so long as the one apprehended truth is certain. "Christ died for us, no matter how," is the whole needful dogma of an evangelical mind.

But there is another view from which the Protestant eye habitually shrinks, but one which the Catholic boldly contemplates: it is that which completes the circle, by joining the beginning and the end of the Gospel together, steadily uniting the incarnation and the death. The first of these great mysteries receives but little prominence in modern Protestantism, because this lacks the daring of faith, to believe that He who died was the Word incarnate. And it is this feebleness of belief that leads to that vagueness and generalization in doctrine which we have described. Say to a Protestant, "God was struck in the face; God was scourged; God was crowned with thorns," and he dares not trust himself to look upon the doctrine. The eagle eye that can gaze upon the sun belongs not to his system; it is but a craven bird. He feels himself unable to grasp the awful mystery. If he deny the divinity of our Lord, his atonement is gone. But he dares not contemplate the dogma through its various applications, and he shrinks from such phrases as we have given with a misgiving terror. They sound shocking and almost profane. And thus he is driven to suppress in his thoughts those detailed sequels of the incarnation, and dwell upon only obscure perceptions of two doctrines, which he has not heart to firmly combine. Socinianism thus becomes the refuge of a vacillating attempt at faith.

The Catholic Church is a stranger to this wavering. She pursues one doctrine through all the mazes of the other, and combines the two inextricably. The Infant and the Victim are equal realities; nay, a unity begin-

ning in God, and in God ending; God throughout, in feebleness as in might, in obscurity and in brightness, in suffering and in glory. Nothing in Him is little, nothing unworthy; the fool's garment on Him is as sacred as the snow-bright vesture of Thabor; the scourge of cords in His uplifted hand is as mighty as the thunderbolt; the first lisping of His infant tongue as wisdomful as His sermon on the mount, a bruise upon His flesh as beautiful to angels' eyes, as adorable to man's soul, as His first smiling radiance shed upon His virgin mother. Thus does the Church believe, thus realize her faith. She alone understands the true doctrine of her Saviour's death, as He Himself expounded it; for none other has learnt this lesson from His actions,—that love is an essential condition of forgiveness as well as faith, and love it is that will linger over every detail of love.

TWO LETTERS
ON
SOME PARTS OF THE CONTROVERSY

CONCERNING THE GENUINENESS OF

1 JOHN v. 7.

**“And there are Three who give testimony in Heaven ; the Father, the Word,
and the Holy Ghost ; and these Three are One.”**

CONTAINING ALSO

**AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST LATIN VERSION
OF SCRIPTURE, COMMONLY CALLED**

“THE ITALA.”

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE two following letters were first published in the "Catholic Magazine," in 1832-3. They were republished in Rome in 1835, with some additions. The author was led into the discussion which they contain, by a correspondence in which he had been engaged with the late Dr. Burgess, bishop of St. David's, respecting MSS. which contained 1 John v. 7.

The discussion of the country of the first Latin version of Scripture, though incidental to the original inquiry, may be said to become the primary subject of these letters. These letters suppose the reader to be acquainted with the outline of the controversy upon the text in question. Its genuineness was impugned in the last century by English and German critics; and these essays pretend to nothing more than the collection of additional evidence in its favour, from the authority of Latin MSS. This will account for the abrupt rush, at once, into the subject; and for the absence of any popular explanations of terms. In fact, they were intended more to be materials for scholars to consider, than finished dissertations on the controversies, and, with few verbal changes, they are left in the same form.

TWO LETTERS

ON

1 JOHN v. 7,

COMMONLY CALLED THE THREE WITNESSES.

LETTER THE FIRST.

To the Editor of the "Catholic Magazine."

DEAR SIR,—A periodical like yours is the most appropriate channel of information upon such points of sacred literature as, from their partial and detached nature, may not deserve a separate publication. Hence I shall make no apology to you, or your readers, for transmitting to you a few remarks upon some parts of the important controversy regarding the celebrated verse, 1 John v. 7: though they will be rather thrown together in the form of loose notes, than arranged as a complete dissertation. Indeed, I foresee, at the outset, that my letters will be extremely desultory, and that I shall probably be led to give my humble opinion upon several points, not immediately connected with the principal object of my inquiries.

Perhaps the strongest portion of the evidence in favour of this long-controverted passage consists in the authority of Latin testimonies, the Vulgate, and the Latin Fathers. The adversaries of the verse have been compelled to acknowledge that the majority of Latin manuscripts contain it; but have, in reply,

contended that it is wanting in the most ancient. Dr. Porson insists upon this argument in the following terms: "To which side shall we give credit, to age or to numbers? On the one side, the witnesses are grave, elderly persons, who lived nearer the time when the fact happened which they assert, and they are all consistent in their testimony, while the other party, vastly superior in numbers, yet lived too late to be competently acquainted with the cause."^a And what is the respective antiquity attributed by this learned writer to each class of testimonies? From his observations upon the two Harleian MSS., he seems to consider the verse as not existing in any Latin manuscript anterior to the *tenth* century: for he says: "In the Harleian catalogue, No. 7,551 contains three copies of the first Epistle of St. John. The first copy seems to be of the tenth century, the second of the ninth, and both omit the heavenly witnesses."^b On the other hand, the oldest manuscript which he mentions, as wanting the verse, is the celebrated *Lectiōnary* published by Mabillon, held to be about 1,200 years old, or of the seventh century.^c With the dates thus fixed by Porson, the sentiments of Griesbach appear to coincide. These are his words: "*Codices Latini ante sæculum nonum scripti versum septimum plane non habent a prima manu . . . Invenitur in nonnullis sæculo decimo exaratis; fortasse etiam (a prima manu) in uno et altero sæc. nono scripto, siquidem de eorum ætate recte judicarunt, qui eos tractaverunt.*"^d

Mr. Horne, in treating this subject, commits a sin-

^a Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in answer to his defence of the three heavenly witnesses. Lond. 1790, p. 154.

^b Page 152.

^c Page 153.

^d Nov. Testam. ed. Lond. 1818, vol. ii. p. 640.

gular oversight, easily accounted for in a compiler not always careful to reconcile together the jarring passages he has collected from different writers. He says: "The passage does not appear in any (Latin) manuscripts *written before the tenth century.*" After a few lines, in the same page and paragraph, he proceeds to say: "*After the eighth century, the insertion becomes general.* For manuscripts written after that period have generally, though not always, the passage in the body of the text."* The Latin manuscripts of the period intervening between these two dates, or written in the ninth century, must be exceedingly curious documents. Do they contain or omit the verse? If they contain it, his first assertion is incorrect; if they omit it, his second.

It is obviously a matter of the greatest importance that all accessible evidence upon this important question should be laid before the public, and my principal object in now addressing you is to communicate observations upon two Latin manuscripts, of a date anterior to any hitherto attributed to those containing the verse, by the opposers of its genuineness; which, however, will be shown to contain it.

The first document to which I beg to call the attention of critics is a beautiful manuscript of the Vulgate, preserved in the venerable Benedictine monastery of La Cava, situated between Naples and Salerno. The archives of this ancient house contain upwards of 30,000 parchment rolls commencing at a very early period; the library also possesses several valuable manuscripts. One of these is the Vulgate alluded to; and when visiting that part of Italy some years ago, I turned aside to the monastery, chiefly for the pur-

* Introduction to the critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. 6th ed. Lond. 1828, vol. iv. p. 468.

pose of inspecting it. I have, however, found still more favourable opportunity to study its text; for the indefatigable librarian of the Vatican, Monsignor Mai,[†] considered this MS. of sufficient value to deserve an exact transcription. This was ordered by Pope Leo XII., and in the course of last summer (1831), the last sheets were deposited in the Vatican Library by Father Rossi, the archivist of La Cava. It will be difficult, at a distance, to estimate the accuracy and trouble with which this transcript has been effected. It contains the Old and New Testaments, copied line for line and word for word, with an exact imitation of its painted and ornamental parts. Besides making two such exact copies of the manuscript, the industrious archivist has, in two years, classified the entire archives, and drawn up, in eleven columns, a descriptive catalogue of 9,000 documents.

The inspection made of the original manuscript was too hurried to authorize me to draw any conclusions regarding the antiquity to which it may aspire. It is written on a beautiful vellum, in large quarto; each page, like the celebrated Vatican MS. (1209), contains three columns. There is no division between the words except by an occasional point. The character is exceedingly minute; the initial letters of paragraphs are somewhat larger and stand out of the lines; the marginal notes are written so small as to require a good lens in order to decipher them. A very detailed description has, however, been published of our manuscript by the Abbé Rozan, who has carefully collected all those characteristics which can have any weight in deciding its age.[‡] The following is the result of his investigation.

[†] Now Cardinal.

[‡] Lettre à M. le Bibliothécaire de la Bibliothèque du Roi à Naples. 1822.

Of the thirty-one characteristics noticed by him, *thirteen* are mentioned in the *Traité de Diplomatie* as decisive of *very high antiquity*; *five* as designating a period *anterior to the ninth century*; *three* as indicative of *at least the eighth*; *four* as decisive of the *seventh at latest*; and *four* as characteristic of the *sixth*. The two remaining ones are too vague to be of any use.^b It is true that the Abbé Rozan himself suggests some difficulties in the way of attributing an excessive antiquity to this manuscript, grounded principally upon the small size and minuscular form of some of the letters. But he solves these objections by citing examples of similar letters in manuscripts of the fifth century; and it is with extreme surprise that his readers find him concluding that this MS. is only one thousand years old. This conclusion seems, from his expressions, to proceed, not so much from his premises, as from his fear to be thought extravagant in his praise.¹ Indeed, it may not be out of place to remark, that many mistakes may be committed through the idea, too prevalent since the promulgation of the Maurist diplomatic canons, that majuscular letters exclusively were prevalent in the early centuries. Some more current character must have been in ordinary use; and a strong evidence of this is to be found in a most valuable manuscript of St. Hilary, preserved in the Archivium of the Chapter of St. Peter's; at the end of which is a note, in a character as connected and rapid as any modern could be supposed to write, to the following effect: "Contuli in nomine Domini Jesu Christi apud Kasulis constitutus, anno quartodecimo Transamundi regis."¹ This note was therefore written

^b Pp. 136-144.

¹ Page 148.

¹ A fac-simile of the MS. of St. Hilary and of this valuable inscription may be seen in Monsignor Mai's *Symmachus*. Rome, 1823.

in the year 509, and consequently the manuscript, whose *recensor* added it, must still be more ancient. Now the forms of the letters in this valuable manuscript resemble much those of the La Cava manuscript; and upon the strength of this similarity the learned and experienced Monsignor Mai has no hesitation in considering the latter as of the seventh century at latest: it may be even more ancient. The antiquity of this document is still further confirmed by the peculiarities of its text, which, however, is that of St. Jerome.

I will now proceed to give the portion of the first Epistle of St. John, which contains the verse of the three Heavenly Witnesses, commencing at the fourth verse of the fifth chapter, and preserving the exact order and orthography of the words, and its marginal annotations:—

* Et arius prae
dicat creaturam

* Si veritas quo
modo creatura quum
creatura vera es
se possit, denique
de nullo angelo
rum legitur quod
veritas sit.

* Audiat hoc arius
et ceteri.

Quoniam homine quod natum est ex deo vincit mundum

Fides n̄ra. Quis est autem qui vincit mundum nisi
qui credit quia* Ihs filius dei est. hic est qui venit
per aquam et sanguinem et sp̄m Ihs xps

Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et sp̄.

Spiritus* est qui testificatur. q̄m Ihs est veritas.

Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.

Spiritus et aqua et sanguis: et hii tres unum sunt.

in xp̄o Ihu. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt

in caelo. Pater. verbum. et sp̄s. et* hii tres unum

sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus etc.

A few simple observations will close the account of this interesting document.

1. In the fourth verse we have a very remarkable example of the power of that “all-devouring monster *omoioteleuton*,” as I think Porson somewhere facetiously calls it. To less experienced readers, it may be necessary to mention, that, in sacred as in profane

criticism, one of the most fertile sources of omission in manuscripts is a similarity of words occurring near to one another. The transcriber's eye is taken from his original at the first passage, and upon returning to it, catches by mistake the same word lower down, and thus the whole intermediate portion is omitted in the transcript. This similarity of termination constitutes what is technically called an *omoioteleuton*. It is generally supposed, by the writers in defence of our verse, that it has been lost in Greek manuscripts by a mistake of this sort, in consequence of the passage immediately preceding it ending with the same words. Now, as has just been remarked, our manuscript, in the two first lines above transcribed, affords us an interesting illustration of the facility of such a mistake. Before *Fides nostra* are omitted the words, *et hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum*; doubtless because the preceding clause ended likewise with *vincit mundum*, so that the copyist's eye was misled. How easily might a similar mistake have been committed at the seventh verse!

2. In this manuscript, the eighth verse comes before the seventh; and Griesbach has, in fact, remarked, that this is the case in the most ancient manuscripts. "*Antiquiores fere anteponunt comma octavum septimo.*"^k

3. The dogmatical use made of this text in the margin is likewise worthy of very particular attention. The very earnest manner in which every argument for the Divinity of Christ seems urged by the writer of the notes, would almost lead us to suppose that they were written during the Arian controversy. The energetic and pithy annotation, *audiat hoc Arius et ceteri*,

^k Ubi sup.

demonstrates better than the longest commentary could have done, the force which the writer attributed to our verse, and the total absence from his mind of any doubt of its genuineness. The second note may appear a little obscure, from the omission of the second member of an antithesis. It says that a creature might indeed be said to be *true*, but could not with propriety be called *the truth*.

To conclude, we have here a Latin manuscript which contains the verse, anterior by at least three centuries to the age allowed by its adversaries for its admission into the text: and the document shows, at the same time, the dogmatical use made of the passage.

The second authority to which I wish to call the attention of critics is of still greater interest; it is that, not merely of a scriptural manuscript, but of an ancient author, quoting it for the express purpose of demonstrating the Trinity.

In the library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, is preserved a manuscript containing two ecclesiastical treatises. The second is the work of St. Cyprian *ad Quirinum*. The first bears no title at the commencement, by the original transcriber; but its termination is as follows:—*Explicit liber testimoniorum*. It was this circumstance which probably led to a much later hand's prefixing the title, *De Testimoniis Scripturarum Augustini contra Donatistas et Ydola*. But from the account which St. Augustine himself gives us of the work written by him under that title, this is not the one. In his *Retractationes*, he speaks of his book, *Probationum et Testimoniorum adversus Donatistas* (as confuting those heretics); *sive de Ecclesiasticis, sive de Publicis Gestis, sive de Scripturis Canonicis*.¹ There can be no doubt that this is the same work as his dili-

¹ *Retract.* l. ii. cap. 27, tom. i. p. 51, ed. Maur.

gent biographer Posidius denotes by the title of *De Testimoniis Scripturarum, contra supra scriptos, et Idola*.^m Now; our work is altogether composed of scriptural quotations only, and is in no way directed to a confutation of the Donatists.

An earlier hand had before given a much more probable title to the treatise, having written on the first page, *Libri de Speculo*. This leads us into an interesting discussion, of great importance towards the object of our researches; have we here the real work of St. Augustine, entitled *Speculum*, or is this title altogether supposititious? I will be as impartial as possible in conducting the inquiry. My order will be as follows:—First, I will give an account of the work as it exists in our manuscript; secondly, I will state the arguments *against* its being the work of St. Augustine; thirdly, I will propose the arguments which seem to suppose him its author. I will afterwards proceed to examine the degree of authority which, in any hypothesis, this document possesses towards proving the genuineness of our verse.

1. The work which we are considering consists of upwards of one hundred heads, including the most important points of Christian belief and practice. Upon each of these subjects all the texts of the Old and New Testaments are given, without a single remark or illustration. In the main, the work is nearly the same as was published under the title of St. Augustine's *Speculum*, by Jerome Vignier.ⁿ But it differs in one most important particular, that the text used in our manuscript is not the version of St. Jerome in the Old, nor his correction in the New

^m Indical. opusculor. Ib. tom. x. p. 284.

ⁿ S. Aur. Augustini Operum omnium Supplem. Par. 1655, tom. i. p. 517.

Testament, but the old Vulgate found in the quotations of the Fathers, and collected in the great works of Nobilius, Bianchini, and Sabbatier. It in fact supplies many *lacunæ* in the latter invaluable work, and is therefore a precious addition to our stores of sacred criticism. Indeed, the active and intelligent librarian of Santa Croce is preparing the entire work for publication, chiefly with a view to amending and improving our text of the ancient Vulgate.^o

The manuscript itself is a quarto on vellum: the character is uncial and square, resembling in form and size the Latin of the Codex Bezae or Cambridge MS. of the New Testament. It is, on the whole, beautifully written, and one must be cautious not to judge of it from the specimen given by Bianchini,^p whose fac-similes, from not being traced, will be often found incorrect.^q There can be no danger in attributing it to the sixth or seventh century. A fac-simile of it is prefixed to this essay.

To come now to the most important point; this work quotes the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, as a dogmatical proof of the Trinity. In the second chapter, which is entitled *De Distinctione Personarum*, fol. 19, *ver.* we have the following passage:—*Item Jo-*

^o I regret to say that the death of this promising Cistercian religious has, for the present, interrupted this undertaking.

^p Evangelio. Quadrop. Romæ, 1748, tom. ii. fol. 595, pl. 2, No. 2.

^q This is the case with most of the old fac-similes, which were only drawn by the eye. The specimen of the Codex Vatican. made by Zacagni for Grabe, and published by Horne, does the greatest injustice to that beautifully written MS., which bears a much closer resemblance to the Bankesian Homer, published in the first number of the *Museum Philologicum*. Having mentioned this valuable relic of antiquity, I may take the opportunity to state, that in the Vatican collection of papyri, exists a very small fragment of the Iliad, which I would almost venture to say, formed originally part of the same manuscript as Mr. Bankes's.

hannis in aepistula . . . Item illic Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo Pater,^r Verbum et Spiritus. et hii tres unum sunt. I need hardly point out to my readers the coincidence between this manuscript and the one above quoted, in the use of the word *dicunt* instead of *dant*. It is the reading of Idatius Clarus, the oldest ecclesiastical writer who quotes this portion of the text.^a

2. Is the more ancient title attributed to this work in our manuscript correct, and have we here the genuine *Speculum* of St. Augustine? It must be a matter of the greatest interest, in the history of this text, to ascertain whether it is quoted by this great luminary of the Church; and we will commence by the arguments which appear to be against his being the author of this treatise. Two perfectly distinct works have been published under the title of St. Augustine's *Speculum*. The first was the one already mentioned as edited by Vignier, to which our treatise bears a close resemblance. This was rejected as spurious by the Maurists, who substituted for it another work of a totally different form.^b It consists merely of select texts of Scripture, in the order of the sacred Books, beginning with Exodus, but reduced to no heads or distinct subjects. But it has one decided advantage over the other work, and consequently over ours, that it has a preface, which ours has not. Posidius informs us that the *Speculum* had a preface prefixed to it. I will give his words at length, as I

^r This word was first written, by mistake, PARTER, but a stroke was afterwards drawn through the first R by the transcriber himself.

^a This name was assumed by Vigilius Tapsensis. Op. ed. Chifflet, p. 306. St. Eucherius is more ancient; but his text is open to much controversy.

^b Op. tom. iii. p. i. p. 681.

may have occasion to refer to them more than once. "Quique prodesse omnibus volens, et valentibus multa librorum legere et non valentibus, ex utroque divino Testamento, Vetere et Novo, præmissa præfatione, præcepta divina seu vetita ad vitæ regulam pertinentia excerpsit, atque ex his unum codicem fecit; ut qui vellet legeret, et in eo vel quam obediens Deo inobediensve esset agnosceret, et hoc opus voluit *Speculum* appellari."^a St. Augustine's *Speculum* had therefore prefixed to it a preface; and if the preface given in the Benedictine edition be genuine, then is the entire work genuine also. For the preface concludes with these words: "Ab ipsa igitur lege quæ data est per Moysen, divinorum præceptorum, qualia nos commemoraturos esse promisimus, aggrediamur exordium." The Benedictine editors give another reason for rejecting Vignier's *Speculum* and preferring their own; that a work in which the scriptural authorities are reduced to certain heads, seems rather intended to instruct the mind than to form a code of morals. From this opinion I think most will dissent. It is much easier to inspect the scriptural standard upon any point of morality and reduce our conduct to it, by having all that is written upon the subject brought together, than by seeking out the various passages bearing on it that lie dispersed through the sacred volume, mingled with other and heterogeneous materials. Such are the only arguments whereby the Benedictine editors support the preference they give to their text. The only one which possesses any strength is the circumstance of the preface, mentioned by Posidius.

3. In favour of the genuineness of the S. Croce text, we may draw a very strong argument from the fact, that its quotations are all taken from the old Latin

^a Vita Aug. ubi sup. p. 277.

version, and not from St. Jerome's. It is well known that St. Augustine was peculiarly adverse to the design formed by his friend, of translating the Scripture from the Hebrew, and that he never approved of his version. "I would indeed rather," thus he writes to him, "that you would translate the canonical Scriptures as they are authorized by the version of the Seventy. For it would be a hard case if your version come to be adopted in many churches; since the Latin and Greek churches would thus be placed at variance."^v "I desire to have your version from the Septuagint, that those who decry your useful labours may at length understand, that my reason for not wishing your translation from the Hebrew to be read in churches is, the fear that, by producing something new, at variance with the Septuagint, one may cause great scandal and disturbance among the faithful, whose ears and hearts are accustomed to that version; which moreover has been approved by the Apostles."^w In fact, he gives an instance of much scandal having been actually caused by the attempt to introduce the new version into a neighbouring church. "When a certain brother bishop endeavoured to make use of your version in the church over which he presides, a passage in Jonas attracted notice, which you have rendered in a manner totally at variance with what had been long familiar to the senses and memories of all, and consecrated by the use of successive ages. Such a tumult arose among the people, especially from the reasoning of the Greeks, who warmly pressed a charge of falsification against you, that the bishop (for it happened in a city) was obliged to appeal to the testimony of the Jews. . . . What was the consequence? Why, that

^v Ep. lxxi. (ol. x.) Op. tom. ii. p. 160.

^w Ep. lxxxiii. (ol. xix.) ib. p. 203.

after considerable danger, rather than be abandoned by his flock, he was compelled to reprobate your rendering as false.”* With such manifest proof of St. Augustine’s attachment to the old version, of his conviction how imprudent, not to say profane, it was, to attempt the introduction of the new, of his conscientious persuasion that the testimony of antiquity, the authority of the apostles, the unity of the Church were all compromised by its adoption, in possession too of the fact that in not one of his undisputed writings does he ever quote from any but the old, we cannot for an instant hesitate to conclude, that the *Speculum* published by the Benedictines, and consisting entirely of quotations from the version of St. Jerome, cannot, as it stands, be the genuine production of St. Augustine.

The learned editors have indeed attempted to remove this difficulty, by supposing that our Father afterwards overcame his prejudices against the new version, and may have used it, especially in a work intended for the use of the people. They appeal to his quoting this translation in some of his later works, particularly in the fourth book of *Christian Doctrine*, which he composed towards the close of his life. To this I would reply—first, that his writing especially for the people would be rather an additional reason for preferring the old version. Even in Rome, the ancient version was used by St. Leo in the fifth century, and even in the sixth, St. Gregory used either, indifferently, thus clearly showing the moment of transition from one to the other. Secondly, an inspection of the passage alluded to by the Maurists will be sufficient to convince any reader, that St. Augustine deemed an explanation necessary, if on one extraordinary occasion

* *Ib.* p. 161.

he made use of the new version : and even that he did not suppose all his readers necessarily acquainted with the translation made by "the priest Jerome, a man skilled in the two languages."⁷

There is still, it is but fair to remark, one way of removing the difficulty, by supposing that a later hand altered the text and remodelled the work upon the version of St. Jerome. We must acknowledge that this might easily have been done : and the existence of two types of our *Speculum*, the one with the old, and the other, in Vignier's edition, with the new text, proves that persons were found who thought it worth their while to undertake the task. Still, when applied to the Benedictine text, this is only an unsupported hypothesis. We have no proof of their book having ever existed in any but its modern form, and as such it could not possibly be the work of St. Augustine ; of the other, we have positive proof that it did consist originally of the text used by that Father.

There is another argument for the genuineness of our copy, which has been noticed by the scholar engaged in preparing it for publication. He informs me that he has noticed a very marked resemblance between the titles of some of the sections and St. Augustine's mystical interpretation of the corresponding passages. It would not be difficult to give a few instances, as I have also noted some ; but it will be more fair and satisfactory to leave in his hands the full development of this important argument.

Before proceeding further in this essay, we encounter a serious difficulty, involving a long and delicate investigation. It may be objected, with great semblance of truth ; does not the very existence of the verse of the Three Witnesses, in this work, prove it spurious ?

⁷ De Doct. Christ. lib. iv. c. 7, tom. iii. pa. i. p. 71.

Is it credible that St. Augustine should here quote this verse in proof of the Trinity, and yet totally pass it over in his Commentary upon St. John's Epistle, and in his works upon the Trinity, where the series of the text, or the expediency of his argument, imperatively called upon him to notice it? To reconcile this apparent contradiction, becomes a part of my task; and let not my reader be startled if we appear to retire to a great distance the better to effect our object; for the artificer must often attach to a very distant point the threads upon which he will gradually raise a compact and durable texture.

Let us assume it to be known to our readers, that St. Augustine is the only ancient writer who mentions any Latin text of the Scriptures under the title of the *Itala*. His words are: "In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ."² This passage has given rise to one of the most difficult problems in sacred criticism; and it is to the solution of this problem that I propose to address myself. This will be immediately necessary to remove the difficulty just raised. But at the same time, it will be, I trust, useful and important for clearing the entire controversy of the Three Witnesses from some important difficulties, for explaining some striking anomalies in the evidences in its favour, and preparing the way for additional proof. Independently of these motives, and of my having at the outset given the reader fair notice of discursive intentions, the hope of loosing a serious and complicated knot in biblical literature will be perhaps a sufficient apology for a long digression.

Two hypotheses have been built upon the passage just quoted. The first is, that there existed in the

² Ib. lib. ii. c. 15, p. 27.

early Western Church one authentic version called "The *Itala*," which St. Augustine here preferred to all others. This hypothesis has been almost universally received. Acting upon its supposed certainty, Flaminius Nobilius, Bianchini, and Sabbatier, have laboured to reconstruct this version indifferently from the quotations of all the Fathers, without regard to country; and most biblical and theological writers have attributed it to an undoubted existence, under the name of the *Vetus Itala*. This appellation may be considered as almost irrevocably sanctioned.

The second hypothesis is partly grounded upon another passage of St. Augustine, where he speaks of a multiplicity of Latin versions being in existence. This passage will be given and discussed just now. The advocates of this system, generally attributed to Mosheim,^a but started many years before by Dr. Whitby,^b suppose the *Itala* to be only one of the *many* translations in ordinary use, which our Father, for reasons now impenetrable, happened to prefer.

The difficulties of these two hypotheses are so obvious, that some bolder critics have abandoned both, and instead of attempting to explain the text of St. Augustine, have attempted its emendation. Bentley proposed to change *Itala* into *illa*, and *nam* into *quæ*; Ernesti, no mean name in these pursuits, warmly supported his conjecture; but Casley, with some countenance of a single manuscript, ventured to correct them in their turn. This attempt to alter the text of the passage may be now considered destitute of supporters.

^a Comment. de Rebus Christian. ante Constant. Helmest. 1753, p. 225.

^b Observat. Philolog. Crit. cum Præf. Havercamp. Lugd. Bat. 1733, p. 84.

I have said that both the hypotheses above quoted, are attended with insurmountable difficulties.

1. As to the first, if "Itala" were the name of a version universally adopted in the Western Church, is it possible that this name never should have been recorded in all antiquity, save only in this single passage of St. Augustine? Is it credible that St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Isidore, Cassiodorus, Alcuin, and others, who have written concerning the old version, should never have given its name? That no manuscript containing the ancient text should be found to bear the title? All will acknowledge that this difficulty cannot be satisfactorily removed.

2. And with regard to the second, it may be said almost to rest upon the sole authority of one very equivocal passage which shall be presently discussed. The collection of various readings made from the Fathers by several writers, for the express purpose of supporting this hypothesis, is far from doing so. The Fathers indeed often differ from one another in their quotations, in a manner to explain which defies all the ingenuity of conjecture. But then, it not unfrequently happens that one Father in quoting the same passage upon different occasions, differs from himself as widely as he does from the rest; are we therefore to suppose that he was in the habit of using distinct versions upon these various occasions? In fact, there are just as glaring anomalies of this sort to be found in the Greek Fathers; and Christian Bened. Michaelis, in his celebrated controversy with Bengel, has produced as extraordinary instances of unaccountable discrepancy in their various readings, as can be cited from Latin writers.^c Yet no one has ever suspected that they

^c *Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus N.T. caute colligendis et dijudicandis.* Halle, 1749, p. 20.

had so many independent texts or versions. On the other hand, though numerous examples of such marked diversity may be collected, though it may baffle all critical ingenuity to reconcile the occasional variety of readings adduced to prove a multiplicity of versions, even by recurring to supposed quotation from memory, or accommodation, or forgetfulness, yet I am convinced that a rapid examination of the quotations of the Latin Fathers in general, would satisfy any critic of common experience and discernment, that their agreement in many extraordinary readings can spring only from the use of an identical version, however altered by ordinary causes. But what seems to place this beyond any doubt, is the tone and style which pervade the scriptural quotations of the Fathers. The general rudeness of the phrase, the repeated recurrence of words not in use among classical writers, the consistent degree of approximation to the original, preserved throughout, in short, the uniform moulding of the features of their text, shows that in all it is the same type, the offspring of one country, almost of one man. And if there was in the Church the liberty of translating, inferred by some writers from St. Augustine's text, and the custom of using such various translations, deduced by them from the various readings of the Fathers, can we suppose that the more elegant writers and accomplished scholars would have invariably selected, from such a variety, a rude and unpolished version? Or are we to suppose that the privilege of making a new version was entirely reserved to less skilful pens? Again, if such a multiplicity of versions were in use, and at the same time, as we have seen from St. Augustine, the introduction of a new word shocked and scandalized the hearers, how could a bishop or priest of one diocese

have preached or instructed in another without mischief or confusion? But these arguments will be much strengthened in my second letter.

But does the text of St. Augustine authorize the conclusions drawn from it by so many able writers, even in our own times? These are his words:—"Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique, primis fidei temporibus, in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari."^d At first sight, the words *interpretari* and *verterunt* seem clearly to express an actual translation. But we must be cautious in pressing such words too much. Among the ancients they are often used in a less rigorous sense, to signify nothing more than a correction or *recension* of a version already existing. I have shown this on another occasion, as far as regards Greek and Syriac writers;^e nor will it be difficult to prove as much regarding St. Augustine. For instance, he thus writes to St. Jerome:—"Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quod Evangelium ex Græco *interpretatus es*."^f The expression here is precisely the same as occurs in the passage above quoted. Yet it is certain that St. Jerome never translated the New Testament, but only emended it. For his words are: "N. Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi auctoritati."^g And it is certain that he understands St. Augustine's phrase, *interpretatus es*, only in this limited sense; for his reply to it is as follows:—"Et

^d De Doct. Christ. ubi sup. c. xi. p. 25.

^e Horæ Syriacæ. Rome, 1828, p. 94.

^f Epist. lxxi. ut sup. p. 161.

^g De Viris illustribus, cap. cxxxv. tom. ii. p. 941, ed. Vallars.; ep. ad Lucin. lxxi. (ol. 28) tom. i. p. 432.

si me in *emendatione* Novi Testamenti suscipis.”^a Indeed, St. Augustine himself explains the phrase on another occasion. He thus writes to his friend :—“ Ego sane te mallem Græcas potius canonicas nobis *interpretari* Scripturas, quæ LXX interpretum auctoritate perhibentur.” Then, after a few lines, he thus explains himself :—“ Ac per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam Græcam Scripturam quam LXX operati sunt, *Latine veritati reddideris*.”¹ The word *vertere* hardly presents any greater difficulty. St. Jerome, in his letter to Sunnias and Fretela, says :—“ Ea autem ” (the version of the LXX) “ quæ habetur in Hexaplis, et quam nos *vertimus*.”² Yet in other places he assures us that he only emended the existing version :—“ Septuaginta interpretes . . . quos ante annos plurimos, diligentissime *emendatos* meæ linguæ studiosis dedi.”^k “ Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos diligentissime *emendatam* studiosis tradidi.”^l

Thus it appears, that the great, and only historical, argument for the multiplicity of versions in the Church, proves no more necessarily than a variety of recensions or corrections of the text. Hence the *Itala* need not be considered as the name of some specific version, in contradistinction to other translations. And we have seen that it cannot be considered as the name of the *one* received version. In addition to these arguments, the analogy of other churches suggests that only one version was used in the Western, subject to numerous modifications from accident or design, but remaining, everywhere, in substance the same. The great ten-

^a In Op. S. Aug. ep. lxxv. tom. ii. p. 178.

¹ Ib. p. 160.

² Ad Sunniam et Fretel. ep. cvi. tom. i. p. 637.

^k Adv. Rusin. lib. ii. tom. ii. p. 518.

^l Ep. ad Lucin. ubi sup.

dency of these alterations would necessarily be to produce certain great varieties naturally determined by greater geographical divisions, or circumscribed by the limits of different ecclesiastical jurisdictions. These varieties are well known in biblical criticism, under the name of *families* or *recensions*. In the East, the Greek text will occur to the reader as a full illustration of this remark: the Syriac version has followed the same law, and the Catholics, Nestorians, and Jacobites, have their respective texts of the Peshito. Not only the Scripture, but any other work frequently transcribed, will naturally present the same phenomenon. Thus M. Gence, in his critical edition of the "Imitation of Christ," has clearly pointed out Flemish, French, and Italian recensions, of which the manuscripts of the Abbey of Moeck, of the Chartreuse of Villeneuve, and of Arona, may be considered as the types, and which embrace numbers of MSS. agreeing essentially among themselves, but exhibiting a line of critical, as well as geographical, circumscription.^m

Such, then, would be the case with the Latin version, and the texts of Gaul, Italy, and Africa, would naturally present distinct traits, characteristic of recension; and these traits would be more clearly discernible to those who possessed not merely fragments, but entire texts. For we may doubt whether even Griesbach or Scholz would have discovered the Greek recensions, however marked, had they been left to work merely on the dismembered quotations of the Fathers.

Now from both historical and critical evidence, it appears perfectly clear, that in the passage about the

^m De Imit. Christi, lib. iv. ad pervetustum exemplar, nec non ad codd. complures ex diversa regione. variis nunc primum lectionibus subjunctis, recensiti. Par. 1826.

Itala, St. Augustine meant nothing more than to specify the preference he gave to the text in *Italian* codices: in other words, that the term *Itala* is not an appellative, but a mere relative term, adopted by him because living in Africa.

1. When an individual, whether from accident or choice, has himself adopted a certain text or edition, he will naturally continue its use and give it the preference. From the history of St. Augustine, it is morally certain that the copy or copies of Scripture which he used must have been Italian. He informs us, that when at Carthage, before his conversion, he utterly despised and neglected the Scriptures, on account of the rudeness of their style.^a He went to Milan, without the slightest religious object, and there at length began to view them in a totally different light.^o From listening to St. Ambrose, he discovered that many things in them which had appeared to him absurd and ignoble, were full of meaning and dignity. He remained for some time in a state of doubt and wavering; and strong obstacles presented themselves to his complete search after truth. One of these I must give in his own words:—"Ecce jam non sunt absurda in libris ecclesiasticis quæ absurda videbantur, et possunt aliter atque honeste intelligi. Figam pedes meos in eo gradu, in quo puer a parentibus positus eram, donec inveniatur perpigua veritas. Sed ubi quæretur? quando quæretur? Non vacat Ambrosio, non vacat legere. *Ubi ipsos codices quærimus? unde aut quando comparamus? a quibus sumimus?*"^p Up to this time, therefore, he had to provide himself with a copy of Scripture. Immediately upon his miraculous conversion, he retired to Cassiciacum, the villa of Vere-

^a Confess. lib. iii. c. 5, tom. i. p. 91.

^o Ib. lib. vi. c. 3, 4, pp. 118, 122.

^p Ib. c. 11, p. 128.

cundus, and thence wrote to ask St. Ambrose what books of Scripture he should read. This holy bishop recommended Isaiah, and St. Augustine read it, evidently for the first time. "Veruntamen, ego primam hujus lectionem non intelligens, totumque talem arbitrans, distuli repetendum, excercitatio in dominico eloquio."^a Here also he began to read the Psalms.^r

After his baptism, St. Augustine proceeded to Rome. Between his conversion and his return to Africa, he wrote and published several works; as his Soliloquies, his treatises,—De Beata Vita, De Ordine, De Libero Arbitrio, De Immortalitate Animæ, De Moribus Manichæorum, and De Moribus Ecclesiæ. Several of these, especially the last, demonstrate, by his facility in quoting Scripture, that he had already completely impressed it on his memory, and studied it deeply. This brief historical sketch must prove that St. Augustine learnt the sacred books entirely from the *Italian* text; and it is highly improbable that upon his return to Africa, he cast it aside and adopted another. On the contrary, it is more probable that he would give the preference through life, to the text which he had first studied.

2. But there is a passage, in one of his polemical works, which seems completely to explain his sentiments and expressions regarding the *Itala*. Writing against Faustus, he gives a critical rule for deciding among conflicting various readings. "Ubi, cum ex adverso audieris 'proba,' non confugas (a) ad *exempla veriora*, vel (b) plurium codicum, vel (c) antiquorum, vel (d) linguæ præcedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum est."^a His order therefore is 1st, (a) to consult MSS. containing a more true or genuine text; 2ndly, (b) to weigh the number; 3rdly (c) to examine

^a Ib. lib. ix. c. 5, p. 162.

^r Ib. c. 4, p. 160.

^a Adv. Faust lib. x. c. 2, tom. viii. p. 219.

the antiquity, of the testimonies ; and 4thly, (*d*) if the point still remain undecided, to recur to the originals. After a few sentences, he proceeds thus : “ Quid agis ? quo te convertes ? quam libri a te prolati (*a*) *originem*, quam (*c*) *vetustatem*, quam (*d*) *seriem successionis testem citabis ?*” By comparing this text with the preceding, and remembering that *number* of MSS. (*b*) is omitted in it, because it treats of the examination of *one* codex, we see that the *exempla veriora* are to be discovered by their *origin* ; for one is substituted for the other, in the series of critical authorities. After a few more lines, St. Augustine explains what the *origin* is which has to determine a manuscript to be sincere and authoritative. For he repeats the same series, with a new and important substitution, and in the form of a conclusion from his previous reasoning : —“ Itaque si de *fide exemplarium* quæstio verteretur . . . vel (*a*) ex *aliarum regionum codicibus unde ipsa doctrina commeavit*, nostra dubitatio dijudicaretur ; vel si ibi ipsi quoque codices *variarent* (*b*) *plures paucioribus*, aut (*c*) *vestustiores recentioribus præferrentur* ; et si adhuc esset incerta *varietas*, (*d*) *præcedens lingua*, unde illud interpretatum est, *consuleretur*.” On this passage I may be allowed a few remarks. First, St. Augustine by *codices aliarum regionum*, etc., certainly means Latin copies ; for he places a reference to the Greek, the *præcedens lingua*, as the last, and a distinct, resource. Secondly, this passage authorizes us to conclude, that different churches did not use distinct versions ; for it would be absurd, in a question on a difference of reading, to refer a critic to a totally different and perfectly independent translation.

Thirdly, St. Augustine's critical rule is, that in a doubt regarding the correctness of a reading, recourse must be had in the first instance to the copies of that

country whence the faith had come. St. Augustine is writing in Africa; we have therefore only to inquire whence did he consider the faith to have been brought into that country; and, from my first observation, it follows that it must be from some Latin church. The belief of the African Church was undoubtedly that Italy, and particularly Rome, was the fountain of its Christianity. St. Gregory writes as follows to Dominicus, bishop of Carthage:—"Scientes præterea unde in Africanis partibus sumpserit ordinatio sacerdotalis exordium, laudabiliter agitis quod, sedem apostolicam diligendo, ad officii vestri originem, prudenti recollectione recurritis, et probabili in ejus affectu constantia permanentis."* And St. Augustine was manifestly of the same opinion, as will appear from the following passage:—"Erat etiam (Carthago) transmarinis viscina regionibus, et fama celeberrima nobilis, unde non mediocris utique auctoritatis habebat episcopum, qui posset non curare conspirantem multitudinem inimicorum, cum se videret et Romanæ ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus, et ceteris terris unde Evangelium in ipsam Africam venit, per communicatorias literas esse conjunctum."† "The Roman Church and *other* countries from which the Gospel had come to Africa," is a phrase sufficiently clear. But I may further remark, that the transmarine countries to which Carthage is near, and those *other* churches, are manifestly identified in this passage; for, the bishop's reputation with the former, and his being in communion with the latter, are given as an identical motive of security. Now, there can be no doubt that by the *transmarine* churches he meant those of Italy. For, alluding to the trial of Cecilianus,

* Epist. lib. viii. No. 88, ed. Maur. tom. ii. p. 922.

† Ad Glor. et Eleus. ep. xliii. (al. clxiii.) vol. ii. p. 91.

he says: "An forte non debuit Romanæ ecclesiæ Melchiades episcopus, cum collegis *transmarinis* episcopis, illud sibi usurpare iudicium?"^x But we learn from St. Optatus, that the colleagues of Pope Melchiades were all Italians, except three Gallican bishops expressly petitioned for by the Donatists.⁷ St. Augustine therefore considered the African Church as descended from the Italian.

We have thus a clear critical rule laid down by this Father, that when, in Africa, any doubt should arise concerning a various reading, a reference to Italian codices, or the Italian recension, should be the first critical operation. Let us now compare with this rule the pasage in which the *Itala* is mentioned, and see if it receives any light from it. First St. Augustine is speaking there, just as in his work against Faustus, entirely about various readings, and the correction of the text. The sentence immediately preceding is, "Plurimum hic quoque juvat interpretum numerositas, *collatis codicibus*, inspectaque atque discussa, tantum absit falsitas; nam *codicibus emendandis* primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum qui Scripturas nosse desiderant, *ut emendati non emendatis cedant*, EX UNO DUNTAXAT INTERPRETATIONIS GENERE VENIENTES."^z Secondly, after thus saying that the more correct *codices* must be preferred, *provided they descend from the same original version*, he proceeds to state which is the text to be preferred; and this he does in the form, not of an assertion, but of a critical canon:—"In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* ceteris *preferatur*." Thirdly, he then goes on, just as in the passage of the work against Faustus, to say, that the

^x Ib. p. 94.

⁷ Adv. Parmen. lib. i. c. 23, ed. Dupin, Par. 1702, p. 23.

^z De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. c. 14, tom. iii. pa. i. p. 27.

Greek is still to be considered a last appeal, even from this : —“ Et Latinis *quibuslibet* emendandis, Græci adhibeantur.”

An impartial consideration of the two passages will, I am sure, convince anyone that they are perfectly parallel; that the preference of the Itala is only the preference of the more authentic records of the same version, preserved in the country whence the Gospel had come to Africa; it is a question of manuscripts and recensions, and by no means of versions.

3. Nothing further seems wanting to complete the solution of the proposed difficulty regarding the Itala, but that it should be critically or practically verified. If St. Augustine brought his manuscripts from Italy, and used them in Africa, does his text present the appearances naturally consequent to such a supposition? Does he, though using essentially the same version as the African Fathers, still on some occasions depart from them in a marked manner, when they agree among themselves, and then coincide with the Italian Fathers? The discussion of this point would involve us in a long examination of various readings, which could not possibly prove interesting to the generality of readers, even should the preceding details have proved so. We must therefore be brief. Several years ago, when pursuing the critical study of Scripture with more leisure, I paid some attention to this point. Though soon interrupted, the examination satisfied me to such a degree, that the theory of the Vulgate here presented to the public, has been repeatedly delivered in the theological courses of this establishment. I will give a few examples of the various readings of the Italian and African Fathers, from some of the first Psalms; whence it will appear, that St. Augustine departs from the African Fathers, and

classes with the Italian, wherever the writers of the two nations decidedly range themselves upon opposite sides.

Ps. i. *Psalt. Rom. et Mediol., Codd. Corbej., Sangerm., Amb., Hil., Cassiod., etc.* read "In lege Domini fuit voluntas ejus." *Tert., Cyp., Opt. (opus imperf. in Mat.)* omit the *fuit*. St. Augustine agrees with the former; and this reading is *tenacior verborum*, the Greek having *ἔστι*, and has also greater perspicuity.

ii. Tertullian and St. Optatus consider it as the first; St. Augustine, with the Italian Fathers, treats it as the second.

ii. 1. *Cod. Sangerm., Amb., Hil.,* "Quare fremuerunt gentes." *Tert., Cyp.,* always "*tumultuatae sunt.*" St. Aug. with the former.

2. *Sangerm., Amb., Hil.,* "*convenerunt.*" *Tert.* (generally) *Cyp.,* "*congregati sunt.*" St. Aug. with the former.

vi. 6. *Psalt. Rom., Cod. Sangerm., Amb., Hil., Leo, Cassiod., Philast., etc.,* have "*in inferno.*" *Tert., Lucif., Calar.,** "*apud inferos.*" St. Aug. with the former.

xviii. 6. *Psalteria, Cod. Sangerm., Amb., Hil., Cassiod., Maximus Taur., Philast.,* "*sponsus procedit.*" *Tert., Cyp.,* "*egrediens.*" St. Aug. with the former.

I must leave the farther prosecution of this examination to some critic possessed of more leisure than falls to my lot. It is a toilsome, and often an ungrateful, task; for in general, the various readings are a mass of irregularity and confusion, referable to no law, and hardly open to plausible conjecture. Still, in the portion examined, I doubt whether a single instance

* I consider him an African writer, because Sardinia was really considered as forming the seventh province of Africa, and was part of its diocese. The connection, too, of the two countries is sufficiently marked in ecclesiastical history.

can be produced, where the African writers stand in united opposition to those of Italy, without St. Augustine siding with the latter. This is sufficient to clear up all difficulties. For while the Fathers of different countries agree sufficiently to prove that they all used the same version, their occasional separation into national classes proves the existence of distinct geographical recensions. And the fact that St. Augustine always agrees with the Italians, added to the historical proofs already given, demonstrates that he used the Italian recension, and not the African; and that he forms a testimony, not of the African but of the Italian Church, in all critical questions regarding Scripture. The important consequences which will be deduced from this conclusion, will justify the length of the discussion. To have given to the words of St. Augustine, on the *Itala*, a sense consistent with facts, with his own history and his quotations, and with the total silence of all other ancient writers, will, I trust, be also considered a sufficient apology for want of discretion in the present disquisition.

But, excusable as it may be, I feel that my readers have acquired a right to forget what originally led to it, and to expect to be brought back to the point whence we started. It was simply this: St. Augustine, in all his other works, omits the verse of the Three Witnesses; is not the circumstance of its being found in the Santa-Croce manuscript a sufficient proof that the work was not written by that Father? It was to answer this objection that this long discussion was primarily undertaken; and the answer which it furnishes is this:—St. Augustine, in his ordinary works, used the Italian recension from which the verse had been lost at an early period. His *Speculum*, as we learn from Posidius, was written for the unlearned,

and hence he made use in it of the African recension, which universally contained the verse. I requested the learned monk who has undertaken the publication of the work, to pay particular attention to its various readings, with this view; and he has assured me that they generally agree with the African Fathers in a very remarkable manner.

In the next letter, we will examine the testimony of this manuscript, on the hypothesis that St. Augustine is not its author, and proceed to notice some other points connected with this celebrated controversy. I remain, &c.,

N. WISEMAN.

ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME, *June 26, 1832.*

LETTER THE SECOND.

DEAR SIR,—Having discussed the question, whether St. Augustine be the author of the treatise contained in the Santa-Croce manuscript, we must now proceed, according to promise, to investigate what degree of authority it possesses in the controversy of the Three Witnesses, on the supposition that it is the production of a more obscure author. Let me premise a few words on its age and country.

Perhaps a more minute examination of the treatise than it is at present in my power to make, might give more clues than have been gathered from hasty observation: these, however, may prove sufficient for our purpose. The exact manner in which several propositions are laid down, regarding the Trinity, shows that it was composed after the controversies upon that great dogma had arisen in the Church. The chapter from which I have quoted the verse of St. John is

headed, “De distinctione *personarum*.” Now the word *persona* does not seem to have been used in the marked sense which it here bears, until the third century. Dr. Waterland has remarked, that it is applied by Tertullian to the *hypostases*, or persons of the Trinity.^b And in fact, in the work of that writer against Praxeas, the word occurs frequently, especially from the eleventh to the fifteenth chapters.^c But still, it hardly seems to have become so early a defined theological term. Facundus Hermianensis says, that it only began to be used in the Church upon occasion of the Sabellian heresy, in 257. His words are: “Personarum autem nomen nonnisi cum Sabellius impugnaret Ecclesiam, necessario in usum prædicationis assumptum est, ut qui semper tres crediti sunt . . . communi personarum nomine vocarentur.”^d But this assertion stands in direct opposition to that of St. Gregory Nazianzen, that Sabellianism arose in the West from the use of this word. The Latins, he says, were compelled,

“Propter egestatem linguæ et rerum novitatem,”

to apply the word person to the B. Trinity; and the consequence was, that Sabellianism arose from a misapplication of the term.^e To reconcile these conflicting testimonies we have only to say, that the word was indeed in use from the time of Tertullian, though it

^b Waterland's Works, by Van Mildert, vol. iii. p. 200.

^c Tert. adv. Prax. pp. 505-508. ed. Rigalt.

^d Def. trium Capit. lib. ii. p. 19.

^e Ἄλλ' οὐ δυναμένοις (τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς) διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γλώττης, καὶ ὀνομάτων πενίαν, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀντεισάγουσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ἵνα μὴ τρεῖς οὐσίαι παραδειχθῶσι, τί γίνεται; ὡς λίαν γελοῖον ἢ ἐλεεινόν;—εἶτα Σαβελλιανισμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐπενοήθη τοῖς τρισὶ προσώποις.—Greg. Nazian. De Laud. Athan. Op. Paris, 1602, tom. i. p. 395.

had not yet acquired that decided, definite, theological determination, which the Sabellian controversy, and later, the disagreement at the Council of Alexandria, necessarily gave it. But the manner in which it is used in our treatise shows this to have been composed at a time when this determination had been given.

There is another circumstance which brings this treatise to a later period. After the section which we have quoted for the text of St. John, is another, directed expressly to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost. This gives reason to suppose, that the controversy upon that important dogma, as distinct from the general question of the Trinity, had already commenced. This will bring down the age of this treatise to the time of the Macedonians, or the middle of the fourth century. The use of the old version in it will not allow us to assign it a much later age, nor indeed could we be justified in doing so, by any single consideration drawn from the work itself.

There can be no difficulty in deciding the country to which the treatise belongs. The circumstance of its being united in the same volume with a work of St. Cyprian, which follows it immediately, gives a *primâ facie* evidence in favour of its being African. But this point is completely decided by the marked coincidence of its readings with those of the African Fathers. The publication of the original will place this important point beyond dispute.

Perhaps, to some readers, it will appear of little consequence to have gained the testimony of an unknown African writer of the fourth century, in favour of the verse. I must, however, acknowledge myself to be of quite a different opinion. We must consider the additional testimony of any African writer of greater authority than that of one from any other part of the

Western Church. And the reason for this preference may appear to many still farther paradoxical; it is because all the authorities hitherto discovered may be said to be African.

Everyone versed in biblical pursuits will be acquainted with the great critical principle, first laid down by Bengel, but not fully established and acted upon till the publication of Griesbach's recensions, that the testimonies in favour of a various reading have not an individual force independent of the recension or family to which they belong; and that a reading must be decided, not by the number of distinct authorities, but by the weight of the recension which contains it.

It is plain that the same principle will apply to any other text as well as to the Greek, in which recensions can be recognized. Having shown that this is the case with the old Vulgate, we may fairly try the evidence in favour of the contested verse of St. John, upon this principle. Now it has been sufficiently observed by all writers upon the controversy, that almost all the testimonies in favour of the verse are African. St. Cyprian, Marcus Celedensis, St. Fulgentius, Victor Vitensis, the four hundred bishops assembled under Hunneric, at Carthage, were all members of the African Church. Maximus the Confessor learnt the passage from the same country;¹ Eucherius was a Spaniard, and his text is too uncertain to be quoted; Phebadius was a monk of Lerins; both, therefore, probably in communication with the African Church. But while so many authors have observed this consent of writers belonging to one church, they have not placed their testimony in its proper light. They have spoken

¹ See Nolan's Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, p. 302.

of them as so many African writers, or even as the body of the African Church, bearing witness to the existence of a passage, but not as the representatives of the African *recension* or *text*, as the voice of a great critical family, whose antiquity and authority, as compared with that of other texts, must be critically ascertained.

Bearing in mind these facts, and especially the one established in the first letter, that the African and Italian Fathers separate into distinct classes, not merely upon this verse, but in many other passages, sufficient to prove the difference of their recensions, I proceed to make such observations as may bear upon the general controversy, in connection with the Santa-Croce manuscript.

1. The existence of an African recension containing the verse, gives us a right to consider as quotations passages of African writers, which, in the works of Italian authors, might be considered doubtful. It is by insisting upon the incomplete form of the citations in Tertullian and St. Cyprian, that Griesbach and others have endeavoured to convert them into mere mystical interpretations. Now, the certainty, acquired by the examination of later testimonies, that the entire Church to which they belonged knew and quoted the verse, gives us just critical grounds for assuming theirs to be real quotations. The system followed by the opposers of the text, of attributing to respect for St. Cyprian and Tertullian, first the allusion to the preceding verse, and then its conversion into a new text, is utterly untenable. These two writers were held in equal, perhaps in greater, veneration in Italy; and there is no reason why their writings should have influenced other African authors more than their admirers beyond the sea. And at any rate, why did not

St. Augustine follow the same course? why was he not led to *argue*, as the other African writers are said to have done, from the eighth verse allegorically explained? Why is he said never to have quoted the verse?

2. But if, instead of an argument, we consider these passages as quotations; if instead of African writers, we will only speak of the African text, we remove a difficulty which has appeared insoluble to all parties,—the silence of St. Augustine. It has been observed, with great appearance of strength, by a late writer,⁸ that this Father, who has written so much upon this Epistle, has furnished Sabatier with materials for restoring the whole of it up to this point, and returns to his assistance immediately after it; but totally fails him in this verse. This, at first sight, appears a negative argument of considerable strength. I would even allow that, upon the ordinary view of the controversy, it is unanswerable. But the positions already laid down remove every difficulty. The verse belongs essentially to the African text, and this writer used the Italian. All anomaly, all difficulty, is at an end. We might indeed almost venture to say, that were the verse to be found in St. Augustine's works, the circumstance would require an explanation. This could probably be easily found, and I have suggested it on a former occasion, from his connection with the African Church, and the propriety he might occasionally find, of adopting a less favourite text, to consult the feelings or utility of the people. But still in all classifications or distributions into families, it is the sporadic varieties, as they are called by naturalists, which perplex and disarrange. The more rounded and

⁸ *Horæ Biblicæ*, by C. Butler, Esq. Works. Lond. 1817, vol. i. p. 396.

decidedly pronounced the limits of each class, the more defined the laws and circumstances by which they are regulated, the freer they are from exceptions, the more determinate likewise the extent and value of each: so much the more satisfactory is all reasoning upon them. So far then from St. Augustine's silence being a difficulty in proving the text, it rather removes an embarrassment.

3. From these remarks it follows, that the discovery of an early African writer, however insignificant in other respects, who quotes the disputed verse, goes farther to strengthen the real evidence in its favour than the testimony of an Italian writer of far greater celebrity; because the former would always tend to consolidate and complete the authority of a recension, while the other would only give an individual and an *anomalous* voice. And this principle defines the weight of the testimony afforded by the Santa-Croce manuscript. It is a new addition to the combined evidence of the African writers, in favour of the verse having existed in the text or recension of that Church.

Having thus reduced the controversy to a contest between two recensions, the African and Italian, it remains to inquire—which of these has claims to the greater authority; which can justly be considered the true representative of the original version? For should it appear highly probable, or even certain, that the Latin translation was really made in Africa, and that consequently the African text, preserved by the writers of that Church, ascends to a higher antiquity not only than the Italian, but than any Greek manuscript in existence, we gain an argument much more compact, defined, and solid, for the authenticity of the controverted verse, than by the usual balancing of quotations and texts.

Mr. Nolan has given several reasons why the authority of the African Church should be considered grave and weighty on this point;^b but does not enter upon the only true means of deciding the controversy, the determination of which is the original text.

It is but justice, not so much to myself as to the cause which I am upholding, to premise that the examination which follows was undertaken, like that in my former letter, without reference to this controversy, being the result of inquiries made for academical purposes, when treating of the Vulgate in a course of theological lectures.

A palimpsest of a Latin antehieronyman version having been discovered some years ago at Würzburg, Dr. Feder transcribed all that was legible, comprising Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. These fragments he transmitted to the late learned Dr. Münter, bishop of Seeland, who published an account of them in a letter addressed to the well-known M. Grégoire. This appeared in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for March, 1819, p. 545. The letter is dated Copenhagen, February 7. In this letter he supposes these fragments to be of African origin; he says they cannot belong to the Itala, because they want the "perspicuity of sentence." He promises to publish them: and if I remember right, they have been given in the third number of the *Miscellanea Hafnensia*; but not having that journal at hand, I cannot ascertain it at present: I have certainly seen them in some such publication.

Eichhorn, however, was the first author who hazarded a general conjecture that the Latin Vulgate was originally made in Africa. This is strictly a conjecture, for he attempts no demonstration of his grounds. The principal, or rather the only real one is, the barbarism

^b Inquiry, p. 295.

of the language in which it is written.¹ Against the term barbarism, we must protest; and we have the suffrage for so doing of the celebrated lexicographer Gesner, who used to say that he considered the Vulgate as a classical author, since it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its full extent.*

Instead of such vague conjecture, let us try to collect some specific proofs, tending, in my humble opinion, to demonstrate, that Africa is the birthplace of the Latin version.

First, it may be remarked, that Greek literature was brought into such repute in Italy, under the Cæsars, but especially under Trajan and the Antonines, that a version of the Scriptures would be there hardly necessary. It is singular that almost all the names which occur in the history of the early Roman Church are Greek; as Cletus, Anacletus, Soter, Eleutherius, Linus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Hyginus. Several of these were in fact Greeks by birth, and their election to the pontificate indicates the preponderance of that nation in the Roman Church, and the acquaintance of their flock with the Greek language. But this is much better demonstrated by the fact, that for the two first centuries, and even later, we have hardly a single instance of an ecclesiastical writer, belonging to the Italian Church, composing his works in any language but Greek.

The epistle of St. Clement, or Clemens *Romanus* as he is emphatically called, was written about the year 96, in Greek.¹ He was really a Roman by birth, but there is nothing in his writings to indicate either that he used a translator, or wrote that language with an

¹ Einleitung in das A. T. Ed. 4, Götting. 1823, vol. ii. p. 406.

* Michaelis's Introd. by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 116.

¹ Eusebius, H. E. lib. iii. c. xvi. p. 107, ed. Reading.

effort. We may add, that the letter is written in the name of the whole Roman Church.

I need not mention St. Justin and Tatian; as neither can be said to have been a member of the Italian Church, though both published their Greek writings in Rome.

Modestus, who is placed by Cave about the year 176, seems by his name to have been a Latin, and yet appears to have written in Greek; for St. Jerome says, "Ferunter sub nomine ejus et alia *συντάγματα*."^m Eusebius mentions him in conjunction with St. Irenæus."ⁿ

There seems no reason to doubt that the correspondence between the churches of Rome and Corinth, under Soter, was carried on in Greek.^o

St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in 178, wrote his works entirely in the same language. The celebrated letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, is likewise in Greek.

St. Jerome says that Tertullian is the oldest Latin writer after Victor and *Apollonius*.^p The first is undoubtedly the pope of that name: the history of the second is more obscure. In St. Jerome's catalogue, two writers of this name are mentioned. The second of these was a Roman senator, who composed an Apology, and certainly wrote in Greek.^q For in another place he is mentioned among Greek writers;^r and there is no doubt but he is the same person whose Apology Eusebius published. He probably wrote some other works in Latin: it is sufficient for our present pur-

^m De Viris Illust. c. xxxii. tom. ii. p. 858, ed. Vallars.

ⁿ Lib. iv. c. 25, p. 188.

^o Ib. lib. v. c. xxi. p. 239.

^p Lo. cit. c. liii. p. 875.

^q Ib. c. xlii. p. 869.

^r Ep. ad Magn. lxx. tom. i. p. 427

^s H. E. lib. v. c. 21, p. 189.

pose that he should have indifferently used either language.

Caius, the celebrated Roman priest, about 212, is generally acknowledged to have drawn up his numerous treatises in the Greek language. This is solidly established by Tillemont, followed by Lardner.[†]

The dialogue against Artemon, the author of which is unknown, appears manifestly, from the fragments given by Eusebius,[‡] and from other circumstances, to have been written at Rome by some ecclesiastic; and yet it seems undoubtedly to have been composed in Greek.

Asterius Urbanus seems by his name to have been an Italian, and yet appears to have written and disputed in Greek. His work was dedicated to Abercius Marcellus. By Eusebius's account, it was accident that led him to Galatia, where his conferences took place.[‡]

St. Hippolytus Portuensis is supposed by some to have been bishop of Portus Romanus, or Adan, in Arabia; by others, of Portus, now Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber. The grounds for both opinions may be seen in Lardner,[‡] who, however, has omitted the circumstance that the church of Porto, and a well there held in great veneration, bear his name. The question is immaterial; Hippolytus lived and wrote in Rome. His paschal cycle may be seen engraved on his chair in the Vatican Library. It is in Greek, as were all his works.

From these instances, the only ones on record, it appears that Victor was the only author belonging to

[†] Works. Lond. 1827, vol. i. p. 396.

[‡] Lib. v. c. 28, p. 195, seqq.

[‡] Ib. c. 16, p. 182.

[‡] Ubi sup. p. 426.

the Roman, Italian, or Gallic Church, who is recorded to have written in Latin before A.D. 230; and there are not wanting grounds to conjecture that he likewise understood Greek. In the meantime, not a Greek ecclesiastical writer appears in Africa, while, on the other hand, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, and Minucius Felix, who are the earliest Latin Fathers, were of that nation. Add to this, that St. Mark's Gospel is acknowledged by ancient writers to have been drawn up for the instruction of the Roman Church, and yet was written in Greek; and that St. Paul addressed his epistle to that Church in the same language. It would be strange that they should have acted thus, if a translation into Latin has been necessary; and we must therefore conclude that Greek was perfectly understood by the faithful there; and so it would continue for some time. This in fact appears from the proofs given above.

From these reflections results a strong ground of historical probability that the first Latin version was not made in Italy, but in Africa. And this is more than a mere conjecture. For we have positive proof, in the quotations of African writers, that such a version did exist in their country before the fourth century; while the whole historical evidence which we possess regarding Italy, leads us to conclude that the Greek text was used there till the commencement of that age. Now, having in my former letter shown that the version used in the two countries was identical, it will follow that the Italian text was imported from Africa.

But the most satisfactory method of determining the country of the Vulgate must be by an examination of its words and phrases. The result of such an examination will be twofold. First, we shall discover

that it abounds in archaisms, or antiquated forms of expression, only found in writers anterior to the Augustan age. This will plead strongly for the provincial origin of the version; since such peculiarities would be longer preserved at a distance than in the vicinity of the capital. And whoever has made any study of the African writers of the first centuries, will have remarked how many of these are preserved by them.* In the examples now to be produced, this will sometimes appear. Indeed, it is probable that the old Vulgate may have originally contained more of these archaisms than now remain, in consequence of its various corrections. For instance, the old copy of St. Matthew, published by Monsignor Mai, in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, tom. iii. Rome, 1828, has, Mat. iv. 18 (p. 257), the word *retiam* for *retem*. Now this confirms the same reading in Plautus, quoted by Priscian :^a “ Nam tunc et operam ludos fecisset et *retiam*.”^b Secondly, we shall discover many decided Africanisms, or expressions found in none but African writers, nearest in age to the old version.^c

* Arnobius, for instance, often uses words and grammatical forms manifestly antiquated. It would be easy to give many examples. Thus, lib. i. *adv. Gent.* p. 35 (Lugd. Batav. 1651), he uses the word *Stribilignes*. Of this word Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* lib. v. cap. xx. p. 341 (ed. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1706), says : *Solæcismus . . . vetustioribus Latinis stribiligo dicebatur, quasi sterobiligo quædam.* In the passage referred to, of Arnobius, he is excusing the rude style of Scripture; probably of the original. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* Again, Arnobius often uses the old form of the passive infinitive, as p. 160, *velarier* and *coronarier*; p. 186, *convestirier*. See note, p. 5.

^a P. 759, ed. Putsch. This is the edition which I shall always quote, of the grammarians.

^b Rud. act. iv. sc. i. 9.

^c Whoever has read the early Christian writers belonging to the African Church, must be struck with the family air which prevails through them chiefly in the use of particular words and forms, not

The principal of these is of course Tertullian. The examples which will be given, and which may at least suffice to turn the attention of more skilful philologists to the subject, will be almost confined to the New Testament, the Psalms, and Ecclesiasticus, which have been preserved from the old Vulgate in the version used by the Church. I will place the references to authors in the text, not to confuse and fatigue the reader by referring him every moment to the foot of the page.

I. A common archaism, or, as it is often erroneously called, solecism, in the old version, is the use of deponents with a passive signification. Priscian expressly tells us that this is an archaism:—"Ex his multa *antiqui* tam passiva quam activa significatione protulisse inveniuntur" (p. 790). Again: "Multa similiter ancipiti terminatione, in una eademque significatione prætulerunt *antiqui*" (p. 799). Whence it appears that these deponent verbs were anciently active. In another

commonly found, except perhaps occasionally in old writers. Thus the word *striculus*, or, as some editions write it, *hystriculus*, for "a boy," occurs only in Arnobius (lib. v. p. 174) and Tertullian (*De Pallio*, c. iv.). The older editions have *ustricolas*, which makes no sense. Arnobius often uses *qu* instead of *c*, as "*arquata sella*" (lib. ii. p. 59), *arquitenens*, *hirquinus* (p. 165), &c. This arises from a confusion common in old writers. We find the same interchange of letters, though in the contrary form (*c* being used for *qu*), in Tertullian, who, for example has *licet* for *liquet*. (*De Pœnit.* c. vi. I quote here, accidentally, from the old Paris ed. of 1545; in other places from Rigultius's edition.) Plautus and Terence made the same confusion. Heraldus (*Animadv. ad Arnob.* p. 77) seems to consider this an Africanism; but from Gellius's remarks on *Insece* and *inseque*, it seems to have been common to old writers. Lib. xiii. c. 9, p. 282.) I could bring together many other instances; several will occur in the text. It would be also easy to point out other resemblances of phraseology between Tertullian and Lactantius, or St. Cyprian; but this is not necessary.

place (p. 797), he says of deponent verbs : “*Præterea plurima inveniuntur apud vetustissimos quæ contra consuetudinem, activam pro passiva habent terminationem.*” Among these he enumerates *consolo* and *horto*. Aulus Gellius (lib. xv. c. 13, p. 681) says precisely the same of these two verbs. Both words occur passively, 2 Cor. i. 6. The first is also used, Psalm cxviii. 52; Luke xvii. 25.

A similar instance is Heb. xiii. 16 : “*Talibus enim hostiis promeretur Deus.*” That *mereo*, in the past tenses, was often used, could easily be shown by reference to the classics. *Promereo*, however, does not appear to have been used by writers of the golden age with the same facility. Nonius (*De Cont. Gen. Verb. Opp.* p. 475, ed. Par. 1641) has an article on *promeres*, for *promereris*; and quotes Plautus (*Trinum.* act. iii. sc. ii. 15) for it. It occurs often in him (as *Amphit.* act. v. sc. ii. 12) and Terence (*And.* act. ii. sc. i. 30; *Adelph.* act. ii. sc. i. 47). It is also used by Ovid, and perhaps some others. But besides the evident archaism of the word, it seems to merit notice from its signification of *propitiating by sacrifice*, which it does not bear in any classical writer; and, as far as I know, occurs nowhere but in Arnobius, an African, who says : “*Ita nihil prodest promereri velle per hostias Deos lævos.*” (*Adv. Gent.* lib. vii. p. 229.)

The passive *ministrari* often occurs in the New Testament; as Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45; 2 Cor. viii. 19, 20; 2 Peter i. 11. This is hardly to be found in true Italian writers. Plautus is quoted by Nonius as having “*Boni ministrantur, illum nunc irrident mali.*” The older editions, however, as the one quoted above (p. 138), have “*Boni immiserantur, illunc irrident mali.*” Columella also, a native of Cadiz, though an elegant writer, uses the word (lib. xii. 1).

The termination of the future of verbs of the fourth conjugation in *ibo* is preserved occasionally by the translator of the Vulgate, as Psalm lix. 8, *partibor* and *metibor*, and is set down by the old grammarians as an antiquated form. Nonius gives many examples, always from the oldest writers; as Ennius, Accius, Novius. These are *reddibo*, *expedibo* (p. 476), *esuribo*, *invenibo* (p. 479), *audibo* (p. 505), *aperibo* (p. 506), *operibo* and *oboedibo* (p. 506), &c. It is singular that Charisius (*Instit. Gram.* p. 222, ed. Putsch) should give *feribo* as the regular future of *ferio*. Yet Horace has (*Od.* ii. 17, v. 32), “*Nos humilem feriemus agnum.*” He has, however (*Od.* iii. 23, v. 19), “*Mol-libit adversos Penates.*” The form, nevertheless, always remains a decided archaism.

In the old Vulgate, the verb *odio* was used even more markedly than now appears; though as yet some tenses not used in the classics remain; as *odientes*. So in the fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel before referred to, in ch. v. ver. 44 (p. 259), we have *odiunt*, and again, vi. 24 (p. 260), *odiet*. Tertullian quotes: “*Non odies fratrem tuum,*” from Levit. xix. 6 (*adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 35), where St. Augustine reads *odio habebis*. (Quæst. lxx. in Levit. tom. iii. p. 520.) Festus (*sub voce*) says the ancients used the verb *odio*; but examples are hardly to be met, except in Tertullian, who has *odientes* (*ib.* c. xvi.), *oditur* (*Apolog.* c. iii.). It is once attributed to Petronius Arbiter; but *audientes* is the better reading. Were it not for the authority of Festus, I should consider this an Africanism.

Matt. xxii. 30, we have the word *nubentur*. Nonius tells us, that “*nubere, veteres, non solum mulieres sed viros dicebant.*” (p. 143.) The expression may thus be considered an archaism; however, it is used this

way almost exclusively by African writers. Tertullian says (*ad Uxor.* lib. i. c. 1), "Apud Patriarchas, non modo *nubere*, sed etiam multifariam matrimoniis uti fas fuit." (Cf. c. 7.) Again (*adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 38), "Præstruxit hic quidem *nubi*, ubi sit et mori." So Plautus (*Persæ.* act. iii. sc. i. 58), "Cujusmodi hic cum fama facile *nubitur*." St. Jerome also, who often seems to imitate the African writers, whom he so much admired, uses it; but perhaps he alludes to the text of St. Matt. (Ep. xxii. No. 19.)

Ps. lxi. 7. "*Emigrabit te de tabernaculo tuo*." A manifest archaism. It is quoted by Nonius from Titinnius (p. 2). "Quot pestes, senia, jurgia *sesemet diebus emigrarunt*;" corrected by later critics into "*sese meis ædibus emigrarunt*." Gellius uses it:⁴ "Atque ita cassita nidum *migravit*." (Lib. ii. c. xxx. p. 201.) Thysicus, in his Commentary, remarked that it is an obsolete phrase. Gronovius denies it, and appeals to Cicero (*De Offic.* lib. i. c. 10). But though he uses it there and elsewhere (as *De Fin.* lib. iii. c. 20; *De Leg.* lib. iii. c. 4), it is always in the sense of transgressing a law or duty; in which Tertullian also has (*De Cor. Mil.* c. 18), "Nec dubita quosdam scripturas *emigrare*." But the meaning of these words is very obscure.

I hardly know whether I should instance the phrase *contumeliam facere*, which occurs often; as 2 Mac. vii. 27; Luke xi. 47; Heb. xi. 29, and once in St. Jerome's

⁴ The occurrence of a phrase in A. Gellius can be no argument of its not being an archaism. On the contrary, his constant study of the older writers familiarized him with their expressions, and led him to use them. Hence Salmasius says of him, "Antonianorum ævo Agellius (A. Gellius) politissime et elegantissime scripsit, et prorsus ἀρχαίων dicendi modum imitatus est." (*De Hellen.* p. 37.) Hence we shall often see him in the text confirming alone expressions found in Tertullian, or other writers of his class.

version, Mic. vii. 6. Some readers will probably remember Cicero's severe criticism on the expression, when used by Antonius. (*Phil.* iii. § 9.) "Quid est porro *facere contumeliam*? quis sic loquitur?" This, however, does not apply to our phrase; as Quintilian (*Inst.* lib. ix. c. 3) tells us it had been there used passively, in the same manner as we may say, *facere jacturam*. The passage of Cicero has nevertheless been a fruitful field for ingenious critics, as my readers may satisfy themselves by consulting Muretus (*Var. Lec.* lib. vi. c. 18), or the elder Gronovius (*Observat.* lib. iii. c. 8, ed. 2, p. 488). However, I believe the phrase, even actively, will hardly be found in any but the oldest writers. It occurs in a fragment of a speech by Q. Metellus Numidicus, preserved by A. Gellius (lib. xii. c. ix. p. 564): "Tanto vobis quam mihi majorem *contumeliam facit*." It is remarkable how Gellius, having to repeat the sentiment in his own name, carefully avoids this turn, and explains it by "majori vos contumelia affecit quam me." It is also found in Plautus (*Asin.* act. ii. sc. iv. 82) and Terence (*Hecyr.* act. iii. sc. v.; *Phorm.* act. v. sc. vii.).

Thus far I have given a few specimens of the archaisms of the old Vulgate, many of which are to be found principally in African writers. I will now proceed to give what I consider examples of its Africanisms.

II. We cannot fail to be struck with the extraordinary number of words compounded with *super*, which occur in the parts of the Vulgate belonging to the old version. I will give a list of those which are not to be found in any profane writer; and it is singular to observe, in contrast, that St. Jerome in his part has not one which is not sanctioned by classical authorities, except *superezaltatus*, which he preserved from the

old version. Ps. xxxiv. 19, 24, xxxvii. 17, *supergaudeo*; xxxvi. 35, Jac. ii. 12, *superezalto*; Ps. lvii. 9, *super-cado*; lxxi. 16, *superextollo*; cxviii. 43, etc., *super-spero*; Eccles. xliii. 32, *supervaleo*; 4 Esdras (*Apo-crypha*) vii. 23, *superdico*; xv. 6, *superpolluo*; 29, *superinvalesco*; vi. 20, *supersignor*; Matt. vi. 11, *supersubstantialis*; xiii. 25, *supersemino*; xxv. 20, *superlucror*; Luc. vi. 38, *supereffluens*; x. 35, *super-erogo*; 1 Cor. vii. 36, *superadultus*; 2 Cor. v. 4, *supervestior*; xvi. 15, *superimpendor*; Jud. iii. *super-certo*. I have given this long list, because it seems decidedly to point out a class of words indicative of a dialectic tendency. To it I may add the word *super-ædifico*, which occurs seven times in the New Testament, though nowhere among classical writers. Perhaps these words abounded even more in older copies; for Tertullian (*adv. Gnostic. c. 13*), quoting Rom. viii. 37, has the verb *supervenio*; whereas our copies have *super-ero*. Now it is singular to observe precisely the same tendency in the writings of this African, nearest in age to the Latin version; and I will therefore give a list of words of the same form, found in no other ancient writer but himself: *Superinduco* (*adv. Hermog. c. 26*); *superargumentor* (*ib. c. 37*); *superacervo* (*adv. Nat. lib. i. c. 15*); *superfrutico* (*adv. Valent. c. 39*); *super-inductitius* (*adv. Marcion. lib. v. c. 3*); *superordino* (*ib. c. 5*); *superindumentum* (*ib. c. 12*; *De Resur. Car. c. 42*); *superextollo* (*De Resur. c. 24*); *super-terrenus* (*ib. c. 49*); *supercaelestis* (*ib. et De Anima, c. 23*); *superinundo* (*ib. c. ult.*); *supermundialis* (*De Anima, c. 18*); *supersapio* (*ib.*); *superseminator* (*ib. c. 16*); *supermetior* (*ib. c. 38*); *supernomino* (*Apol. c. 18*); *superscendo* (*De Pœnit. c. 10*); *supervecto* (*De Baptis. c. 4*). And to come to one specific comparison, Tertullian has also the word *superædificatio* (*adv. Mar-*

cion. lib. v. c. 6), which is likewise used by Victorinus, no less an African. (*Mai. Scriptor. Vet. ut sup. p. 112.*) Certainly it would be difficult, or rather impossible, to cull from any other two such small collections of writings as those I have cited, such a number of compound words of the same form, not to be found elsewhere. For both in the Vulgate and Tertullian, or rather the small portions of each which I have quoted, I have passed over many compounds of this form, which they respectively have in common with other writers.

Another no less striking class of words, peculiar to the Vulgate and African writers, consists of verbs terminating in *ifico*; many of which were afterwards received as established ecclesiastical words. The following instances may suffice to illustrate this point. *Mortifico* is often used for *to kill*. Ps. xxxvi. 42; xliii. 22; lxxviii. 11; Rom. viii. 36, &c. St. Jerome has once or twice adopted it into his version. Even in those passages, where, from the ecclesiastical use of the word, we translate it by *mortify*, as Rom. vii. 4; viii. 13, it in reality signifies *to kill*; as *mortificatio*, 2 Cor. iv. 10, undoubtedly signifies *death*, or as the Douay version renders it, *dying*. But upon these renderings I may have occasion to speak more at length on another occasion. Suffice it to say, that this verb *mortifico*, with its derivatives, is nowhere found in classical authors, but is most common in Tertullian, who uses it without the least reference to these texts. Thus (*De Resur. c. 57*), “Caro non prodest quidquam, *mortificatur* enim.” Again (*adv. Marc. lib. v. c. 9*): “Quod si sic in Christo vivificamur omnes, sicut *mortificamur* in Adam, quando in Adam corpore *mortificamur*, sic necesse est et in Christo corpore *vivificemur*. Cæterum similitudo non constat, si non in eadem sub-

stantia *mortificationis* in Adam, *vivificatio* occurret in Christo." It may be proper to notice a passage in Festus (*De Verb. Signif.* Amst. 1700, lib. ix. p. 253), who explains the word *munitio* by *mortificatio ciborum*. Scaliger proposes to read *morsificatio*. Meursius, however, prefers retaining the usual reading, but deriving the word from *mortare conterere*, which is not, I believe, to be found in any ancient writer. *Vivifico* is another scriptural word not used by profane writers. It is almost superfluous to cite examples, as it occurs in nearly every book. St. Jerome was driven to the necessity of often adopting it, as the idea of giving or restoring life is so essentially Christian, that no heathen word could have been found to express it. We have seen examples from Tertullian both of the verb and substantive. He also has the word *vivificator* (*De Resur.* c. 37; *adv. Marc.* ii. 9). *Glorifico* occurs as frequently as the last word, and has been likewise received into the second Vulgate. The oldest authority for it is once more Tertullian. (*Idol.* c. 22; *adv. Prax.* c. 25 sæpius.) *Clarifico* is found only in the old version, as, 3 Esd. viii. 28, 82; ix. 53; Jo. xii. 18, 23, 28, &c.; Gal. i. 24, and elsewhere. The older editions of Pliny had the word (*Hist. Nat.* lib. xx. c. 13), in the sense of *clearing* ("*visum clarificat*"); but F. Hardouin, from MSS., restored *compurgat*. The oldest authority for its biblical sense is Lactantius (lib. iii. c. 18); and the noun *clarificatio* is first met with in St. Augustine (*De Div. Quæst.* c. lxii. tom. vi. p. 37), both Africans. *Sanctifico* is another verb unknown to profane writers, yet found very frequently in the Vulgate. It is used by Tertullian, in commenting on the Lord's Prayer (*De Orat.* c. 3), and in other places (*Exhort. ad Cast.* c. 7), as also *sanctificator* (*adv. Prax.* c. 2; *S. Aug. Conf.* lib. x. c. 34), and *sanctificatio* (*Exhort.* c. 1).

Salvifico belongs to the same class, and occurs Jo. xii. 27, 47. Sedulius uses it, but evidently in allusion to this passage (lib. vi. 7). Tertullian, according to some editions, has the word *salvificator* (*De Pudicit.* c. 2): “*Salvificator* omnium hominum maxime fidelium.” The older editions, however, have *salutificator*. *Iustifico* is another common scriptural term unknown to the classics, and is to be found in almost every book of Tertullian, in every possible form. (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 19, iv. 17; *De Orat.* c. 13, &c). *Magnifico*, too, is often used in a sense unknown to classical writers, for, to *make great*; as Ps. xvii. 54; lvi. 11. I do not know that it is found in this sense in Tertullian. We have thus eight examples of words of a peculiar form, perfectly unknown to the classics, but almost all in common use among African writers, nearest to the age of the Vulgate. But were it to be urged that even these may have derived them from this version, and that, if inventions, they may equally be the productions of Italy, I would reply, that decidedly this does not appear probable. For, besides these words, others of the very same form are constantly to be found in these African writers, known to no other authors; and therefore it seems probable that they were in the habit of using or coining such words, and that with them this was a favourite form. To give a few instances: Tertullian has the extraordinary word *angelifico* (*De Resur. Car.* c. 25): “Quæ illam (carnem) manent in regno Dei reformatem et *angelificatam*.” He has also the derivatives *salutificator* (*ib.* c. 47; *De Car. Christi*, c. 14), and *vestificina* (*De Pallio*, c. 3), and *deificus* (*Apol.* c. 11). In like manner Arnobius often uses the word *autifico* for to *honour*, especially the gods by sacrifice (*adv. Gent.* pp. 224, 233); a word peculiar to himself, as the others are to Tertullian.

Ephes. v. 4, we have the word *stultiloquium*; Matt. vi. 7, *multiloquium*; preserved also in Prov. x. 19. These words are probably found in no ancient writer but Plautus, who has *stultiloquium* (*Mil. Glor.* act. ii. sc. iii. 25), *stultiloquus* (*Pers.* act. iv. sc. iii. 45), and *stultiloquentia* (*Trinum.* act. i. sc. ii. 185); in like manner, *multiloquium* (*Mercat.* prolog. 31), *multiloquus* (*Pseud.* act. iii. sc. ii. 5; *Cistel.* act. i. sc. iii. 1). What strongly confirms the Africanism of these compounds is the recurrence of similar forms in Tertullian; as *turpiloquium* (*De Pudicit.* c. 17), *spurciloquium* (*De Resurrec. Car.* c. 4), and even *risiloquium* (*De Pœnit.* c. 10). The words *vaniloquus* (Tit. i. 10), and *vaniloquium* (1 Tim. i. 6), belong to the same class; the first is used, in the sense it has in the text, only by Plautus (*Amph.* act. i. sc. i. 223); though in a different sense, occasionally, by others. The second is found in no ancient author.

The text just quoted has brought another under my eye (Tit. i. 7), where we have the Greek compound *αἰσχροκερδῆ* rendered by *turpis lucri cupidum*. Plautus uses this very phrase, but in a compound form: *Turpilucricupidum* *vocant te cives tui.*" (*Trinum.* act. i. sc. ii. 63.)

Condignus is a favourite word with the translator of the old Vulgate. We have it for instance, 2 Mac. iv. 38; Rom. viii. 18. It is often used by Plautus (*Amph.* act. i. sc. iii. 39; see also *Cass.* act. i. v. 42; *Bacch.* act. iii. sc. ii. 8), and once or twice by A. Gellius (pp. 51, 222). It is a common word with Arnobius. (Lib. i. p. 1, 15; ii. 55.)

Minoro and its derivative *minoratio* are entirely confined to the old parts of the Vulgate, where they very frequently occur. The verb for instance, Ps. lxxxviii. 46; Ecclus. xxxi. 40; xli. 3; 2 Mac.

xiii. 19; 2 Cor. viii. 15; Heb. ii. 9; and often elsewhere; the noun, Eccles. xx. 11; xxxix. 23; xl. 27. These words are only to be found among African writers. Tertullian often uses the verb: "Perit anima si *minoratur*" (*De Anima*, c. 43); a quo et *minoratus* canitur in psalmo modicum quid citra angelos" (*adv. Prax.* c. 7, repeated in *De Cor. Mil.* c. 14). The noun I have only met in Ferrandus Carthaginiensis, who has, "Æqualitas quippe ejus secundum divinitatem non accepit initium, *minoratio* secundum carnem accepit initium." (*Script. Vet.* ubi sup. p. 172.) Tertullian also has the verb *diminoro* (*De Anima*, c. 33; *adv. Prax.* c. 15, where *minoro* is repeated.)

Levit. xx. 20, the old version had, "Non accedat ad ministerium Dei si fuerit . . . *ponderosus*;" for which word St. Jerome substituted *herniosus*. Probably the only passage in which this adjective occurs in the same sense is one of Arnobius (lib. vii. p. 240): "Ingentium herniarum magnitudine *ponderosi*."

A word often used in the old Vulgate, and once adopted by St. Jerome (Zac. xiii. 7), merits our notice, from the peculiar signification it bears. This is *framea*, in the sense of a *sword*, which it always has in the Vulgate; as, Ps. ix. 7; xvi. 7; xxi. 21; 4 Esd. xiii. 9, &c. Tacitus informs us of the origin of this word:—"Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas*, gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum belli habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus *vel* *eminus* pugnent." (*De Mor. Germ.* c. 6.) Wachter derives the word from the old Teutonic *frumen*, to throw (*Glossar. Germ.* Lips. 1737, tom. i. p. 471); but St. Augustine (*Epist.* 140, tom. ii. p. 437; cf. tom. v. p. 1259) expressly tells us that the word meant a *sword*; and thus gives us an African testimony for the

meaning it has in the Vulgate, though quite at variance with the signification it bears in the classics.

Improperium is a word of frequent recurrence in our version, and confined, as well as its verb *impropero*, to the old parts. It is doubtful whether any classical authority exists for either; certainly not for the noun. Some editions have the verb in Plautus (*Rud.* act. iii. sc. iv. 48); but perhaps *opprobrias* is the better reading. We meet with both words in some Arian sermons, published by Mai, which appear to me decidedly of African origin:—"Ne ab aliquo super eo *improperium* accipiat." (*Script. Vet.* p. 219.) A few lines lower the verb occurs.

The noun *pascua*, as a feminine, comes often in the old Vulgate; as, Ps. xxii. 2; lxxviii. 13; and has been even preserved in the new. This form is unknown to the classics, but found in Tertullian:—"Quæ illi accuriator *pascua* est." (*Apol.* c. 22.)

The adjective *linguatus* occurs in the book of Ecclesiasticus, viii. 4; xxv. 27. Tertullian once more is the only authority in whom it has been found:—"Apostolus Athenis expertus est *linguatam* civitatem." (*De Anima*, c. 3.)

I do not know whether I should mention the words *salvo*, *salvator*, *salvatio*, for which the earliest authorities are African; as, Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 18), Lactantius, Victorinus (*Scriptor. Vet.* p. 24, et alibi), who has *salvatio*. These words are essentially Christian: hence St. Augustine says: "*Salvare et salvator non fuerunt hæc Latina, antequam veniret Salvator, quando ad Latinos venit, et hæc Latina fecit.*" (*Serm.* ccxcix. sec. 6, tom. v. p. 1213.) In fact, Cicero tells us that the Greek word σωτηρ "*Latino uno verbo exprimi non potest.*" (*In Ver.* 4, c. 63.)

Evacuare often occurs in the New Testament, for the Greek *καταργέω*, to *render useless, destroy, &c.*:—1 Cor. xiii. 8, 10; xv. 24; Gal. v. 11, and often elsewhere. Occasionally it corresponds to the verb *κενόω*, as 1 Cor. i. 17. Tertullian, quoting 1 Cor. vi. 13, has, “*Deus autem et hunc et hanc evacuabit*” (*Ep. de Cibus Jud.* post med.), where we now read *destruet*. Thus also he has, in the old editions, “*hanc evacuationem et subjectionem bestiarum pollicetur.*” (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 24, al. 40.) He has just quoted Is. xxvii. 1, and consequently means *killing, or destruction*. I think I have met with these words in him oftener; but cannot find the places. *Vacuus* is often used by him in the sense of *unsubstantial, not solid*; as, “*phantasma res vacua*” (*ib.* c. 20); as it is by Arnobius, “*periculum cassum et vacuum*” (lib. ii. p. 44). In the first passage of Tertullian, Rigaltius, it is fair to add, has *erogationem* instead of *evacuationem*.

The word *intentator* (Jac. i. 13) is excessively harsh, and it will be impossible to find any word of that form that equals it, in the rudest writers. Yet it is impossible not to be struck with the number of strange compounds with the negative *in*, that occur in every page of Tertullian, and writers of that School. Thus we have in him, *imbonitas* (*adv. Martyr.* c. 3); *im-misericordia* (*De Spectac.* c. 20); *incriminatio* (*De Resur. Car.* c. 23); *ingratia* (*De Pœnit.* c. 1, 2); *insuavitas* (*ib.* c. 10); which is found also in Gellius (lib. i. c. 21, p. 107); *impræscientia* (*adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 7); *illaudans* (*ib.* lib. iii. c. 6.); *invituperabilis* (lib. ii. c. 10, iv. 1); *incontradicibilis* (lib. iv. 59); *ininventibilis, ininvestigabilis* (*adv. Hermog.* c. 45); *innascibilis* (*De Præscript.* c. 49); *incon-*

temptibilis (*Apol.* c. 45.); *illiberis* (*adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 34); *intestis* (*De Pallio*, c. 3, according to Salmasius's reading); found also in Arnobius (lib. v. p. 160); *investis* (*ad Uxor.* lib. ii. c. 9); *incommunis* (*De Pall.* c. 3); *inunitus* (*adv. Valent.* c. 29); read also in Apuleius; *inemeribilis* (*De Resur.* c. 18); Lactantius also has *illibabilis* (lib. ii. c. 2); Arnobius *incontiguus* (lib. i. p. 7); and other peculiar words of that form. A. Gellius, too, peculiarly delights in this form; as may be seen from the catalogue, imperfect as it is, of words peculiar to him, given by Fabricius on Censorinus. (*Biblioth. Lat.* Lips. 1774, tom. iii. p. 77.) Apuleius, too, an African writer, and occasionally agreeing in the use of words with Tertullian, has often this form. Indeed the phrase most nearly approaching that of the Vulgate, "Deus enim intentator malorum est," is one of Apuleius, where he calls God "malorum improbator." (*De Deo Socr.* Lug. Bat. 1823, tom. ii. p. 156.) This word *improbator* is likewise found in Tertullian (*De Patient.* c. 5).

I will now give a few examples of grammatical construction which seem to indicate an African origin.

The verb *dominor* is almost always construed with a genitive; as, for instance, Ps. x. 5; xxi. 29; Luc. xxii. 25, &c.; and so has passed even into the new Vulgate. This construction is found only, as far as I know, in African writers. Thus Tertullian has, "nunquam *dominaturi ejus*, si Deo non deliquisset." (*Apol.* c. 26.)

Ps. xxxvi. 1, we have *zelare* with an accusative case; so Ecclus. ix. 1, 16; and in other places. St. Jerome has used the form twice, though he generally says, *zelatus sum pro*. This construction, likewise, is confined to African authors. Thus the author of the poem against Marcion, whether it be Tertullian or

St. Cyprian, has (*Carm. adv. Marc.* lib. iv. v. 36, in *Opp. Tertul.* Rigalt. p. 636)—

“Qui *zelat* populum summo pietatis amore.”

So likewise St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. iii. c. 3):
“Dii credo non *zelant* conjuges suas.” And again,
cont. Faust. lib. xxii. c. 79.

The use of an *active* or *passive* infinitive after *facio* is a harsh form of expression; as Matt. iv. 19: “Faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum.” Acts viii. 45: “Figuras quas fecistis adorare.” Among the classics this construction is hardly to be seen, unless *facio* signifies to *imagine* or *suppose*; as Cicero: “Plato construi a Deo atque ædificari mundum facit.” (*De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 8.) Arnobius, however, often uses this rude form; as, “Fecit oppidum claudi.” (Lib. v. p. 159.) “Fecit sumere habitum priorem.” (*Ib.* p. 174.)

Jo. xix. 10: “Potestatem habeo crucifigere te, et potestatem habeo dimittere te.” The poets do, indeed, use the infinitive after *potestas*; as Lucan (*Phars.* lib. ii. 40),—

. . . . “Nunc *fle*re potestas
Quum pendet fortuna ducum,”

and Statius (*Theb.* lib. iv. 249),—

“Neque enim hæc juveni foret *ire* potestas.”

Yet even these poetical turns cannot be compared with the words quoted from the Vulgate: as in them the verbs are not used actively after the word *potestas*, which is thus, in a manner, equivalent to the impersonal *licet*. Victorinus, however, the African writer already quoted, has the expression, “*potestas dare vivere.*” (*Apud Mai, præf. ad Script. Vet.* p. xvii.)

Ps. xliv. 14, we have the expression *ab intus*. This is likewise found in a commentary on St. Luke, pub-

lished by Monsignor Mai (*ib.* p. 192), the latinity of which seems to indicate an African origin.

Enallage of tenses often occurs in the old version. Thus the imperfect subjunctive is put for the pluperfect, as Acts ii. 1 :—"Cum complerentur dies Pentecostes," for *completi essent*. Many other examples might be brought. I will quote a note of Heraldus upon the following words of Arnobius: "Nunquam rebus ejusmodi credulitatis suæ commodarent assensum." (Lib. i. p. 33.) His annotator writes thus:—"Afri utuntur sæpissime præterito imperfecto pro plusquam perfecto, ut loquuntur grammatici. Extat hæc ἐναλλαγή apud Arnobium et Tertullianum, locis quamplurimis; quin et apud antiquos scriptores, ut apud Plautum non raro. Hinc igitur Augustini celebre dictum illud 'Non crederem Evangelio, nisi me Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.' Id est, *non credidissem*, tum quum eram Manichæus. Sic hoc loco *commodarent* pro *commodassent*." (*Desid. Heraldii Animadvers. ad Arnob. lib. i. p. 54.*)

I will give the judgment of the same learned critic upon another construction not unfrequent in our Vulgate,—a sudden change from an indirect construction to the infinitive. For instance (Luc. i. 72):—"Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et memorari testamenti sui sancti." Arnobius has (lib. ii. p. 64), "Illibatum necesse est *permaneant* et intactum, neque ullum sensum mortiferæ passionis *assumere*." On these words his commentator observes:—"Proba lectio. Nam qui scribendum existimant, *assumat*, plane falluntur. His modorum mutationibus delectantur Afri scriptores. Infra; 'causam convenit *ut inspiciatis*, non factum, nec quid reliquerimus *opponere*.'" (*Ib.* p. 83.) I may observe that the change of moods I have cited from the Vulgate was

manifestly the result of the translator's taste, and noways suggested by the original, which preserves through the sentence a consistent construction : *ποιῆσαι ἔλεος καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης.*

Perhaps some will not consider the preceding inquiry into the origin of the Vulgate sufficiently extensive to prove definitively that it was composed in Africa. I will, however, observe, that the best writers upon the Latin language agree in considering the African authors as composing a peculiar family, distinct from those of other nations. Thus, for instance, Walchius says :—"Afri propria dicendi ratione Latinum sermonem omnino corruperunt, codstat id idem de Tertulliano, Cypriano, Arnobio, aliisque."* Now I doubt whether it would be possible to bring as many definite points of resemblance between any two African writers, as I have brought to show the similarity of words and constructions between the Vulgate and Tertullian, or Arnobius. And if it be said that the classification of these writers has been suggested more by the general features of their style, and the rudeness of their diction, than by marked approximations of phraseology, I would reply, that the resemblance of style, for example, between Arnobius and St. Cyprian, is by no means so decisive as to warrant their being so associated; and that even in this view, the Vulgate, taking into account that it is only a translation, may well enter into the same class. To me, this investigation has brought complete conviction that the version was made in Africa; and that Tertullian is the author nearest to it in age and country.

And in the foregoing discussion I have laid before my readers the strongest proof, to which I alluded in

* *Johannis Georgii Walchii Historia critica Latinæ Linguae.* Ed. nova. Lips. 1729, p. 188.

my first letter,[†] that the version used throughout the Western Church was one in origin, however subsequently modified. For in the quotations of all the Fathers, whether Italian, Gaulish, or Spanish, we find these extraordinary words. If each Church used a different version, still more if everyone who thought himself qualified, presumed to translate, is it credible, nay, is it possible, that all, of whatever country, of whatever abilities or education, would have used the same words, and adopted similar forms, and these most unusual, found only in writers of one province, some in no writer except these several versions? Can anyone believe, for instance, that the verbs, *glorifico*, *clarifico*, *salvifico*, *magnifico*, *justifico*, *mortifico*, *vivifico*, should have been invented or adopted by a variety of authors translating independently, when we consider that they are to be found in no Italian author before the Vulgate came into general use? Why did no one among the supposed innumerable translators say *justum reddere*, *vitam dare*, or use any other such phrase? Only one solution, it seems, can be given to these queries: to suppose the version to have been the production of one man, or of several in the same country and age, who gave to it that uniform character and colour, which it has in all the fragments we possess of it.

But in one respect I fear I may have been too diffuse; for I feel that I have once more to lead back my reader to the point whence this digressive inquiry started. I had endeavoured to reduce the question of the authority of the Latin Fathers in favour of 1 John v. 7, to one of recensions. This led me into the investigation of the origin of the Vulgate; which being a point hitherto untouched, and of importance to the

[†] See p. 269.

general interest of biblical criticism, I have carried on at a length more becoming a separate treatise than a digression. The result is, that Africa was the birth-place of the Vulgate, and consequently the African recension represents its oldest type, and is far superior in authority to the Italian. Thus it gives us the assurance, that in the primary translation the verse existed; and that, if the Italian Fathers had it not, it was from its having been lost in their recension. We are thus led to conclude that the manuscripts used in making this version possessed the verse; and these were necessarily manuscripts of far greater antiquity than any we can now inspect.

And now, having had so frequently to refer to Tertullian, I will venture to observe, that justice has not been done to the passage commonly quoted from him, as a reference to our text. (*Adv. Prax.* c. 25.) To see the full force of his expression, we must read farther till we come to the following words: "Nam et Spiritus substantia est Sermonis, et Sermo operatio Spiritus, *et duo unum sunt.*" Tertullian certainly does not here refer to the passage he has already discussed so fully,—"*ego et Pater unum sumus*;" for it could never prove that the Son and Holy Ghost are one God. Yet he seems to allude to some text of equal force, where *the Word* and *the Spirit* are mentioned as being one; and this text can only be the one which he had already, in the passage commonly quoted, compared with that regarding the Father and the Son. He says, "*duo unum sunt*," because his argument, at that moment, required not the mention of all, and he was only alluding, not quoting. But I must hasten to my conclusion.

I promised only to give an account of some manuscripts found to contain the disputed verse of St. John;

and in this I principally had in view the two Latin manuscripts, which I described in my first letter. I have, however, endeavoured to connect the private evidence of one of my witnesses with the general mass of testimony in favour of the cause; and, I trust, proved that its weight is greater than its individual volume might seem to indicate. I have attempted, by this means, to place the favourable evidence upon a footing, of greater authority among critics, than that of dispersed testimonies, and removed some objections from the silence of St. Augustine, which used triumphantly to be urged against it. I will, however, detain my readers a few moments longer to make some observations upon Greek manuscripts said to contain the verse.

In the *Preface to the second edition of a Letter to Mrs. J. Baillie*, by the Bishop of Salisbury, to which I cannot refer more particularly, as it was forwarded to me in a separate form by his lordship, mention is made of the evidence existing of a manuscript having once been seen at Venice, which contained the verse. It consists of the testimony of Harenberg, in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*,^{*} that a valuable Greek manuscript,—“*auctoritatis non modicæ codicem Græcum*,”—was shown by a Greek at Venice to F. Antoine. This was singularly confirmed by a marginal reference of one of the *Canonici MSS.* now in the Bodleian. A still more extraordinary coincidence was a third reference, which I discovered here (Rome), to a Greek manuscript at Venice. This I had briefly communicated to his lordship, who gave an extract from my letter, in an Appendix, on Sir Isaac Newton's suppression of his Dissertation on 1 John v. 7, &c., kindly forwarded to me on a separate sheet. I will now,

^{*} *Biblioth. Brem. Nova.* Brem. 1762. Class. ii. p. 428.

however, state more at length the nature of this reference. In the Angelica Library, belonging to the Augustinians of this city, and so called from its founder, F. Angelo Rocca, is preserved the copy of the Bible used by him, as secretary of the Congregation appointed by Clement VII. for the correction of the Vulgate. It is the Roman edition of 1592, the second of Sixtus V. Prefixed to the volume are minutes of the acts of the Congregation; and on the margin are noted such passages as the secretary wished to submit to discussion, with the arguments, briefly stated, upon which he grounded the rejection, retention, or alteration, of each. Upon the text of St. John, p. 1114, is the following marginal annotation, written with numerous contractions:—"Hæc verba sunt certissime de textu et allegantur contra hæreticos ab Athanasio, Gregorio Nazianzeno, Cyrillo, et Cypriano; et Hieronymus in prologo dicit ab infidelibus scriptoribus fuisse prætermissa. *In Græco etiam quodam antiquissimo exemplari quod habetur Venetiis leguntur*; unde colligitur Græca, quæ passim feruntur, in hac parte esse mendosa, et omnia Latina manuscripta in quibus non habentur illa verba signata." This testimony, confirmed as it is by the two already cited, must be allowed considerable weight: the occasion too, on which it is given, renders it still farther worthy of our attention.

I have now to mention the supposed existence of two manuscripts containing the verse, towards which I wish to turn the attention of critics and travellers. I had frequently heard from a gentleman, well known in the literary world as a Greek and oriental scholar, that he had seen manuscripts in the East which contained the verse. He had, in fact, travelled over great

part of Greece expressly with the view of collating manuscripts of the New Testament for a Latin version of it, which he afterwards published.^b Anxious to collect with greater accuracy the information he had to give upon the subject, I asked him more particularly to state to me what he had seen in reference to it. I took a note of his observations within a few minutes of our conversation; and as more than a year has since elapsed, I will content myself with transcribing it here.

“His statement is, that he has seen several manuscripts with the verse erased, and two in which it is written, *prima manu*, in the margin. One was at Nicosia in Cyprus, in possession of a Greek, of abilities, a merchant as I understood him. It was in uncial letters, large; on the margin, by the same hand, although in smaller characters, was the verse, with an annotation that it belonged to the text. From his manner and character, I could have no reason whatever to doubt that he was perfectly sincere in his statements.” I will add no comment upon this testimony; perhaps some traveller may be able to verify it.

There are several other points on which I should have been glad to touch, especially upon the objection frequently brought against the free discussion of this controversy from the decree of the Council of Trent. Some writers have given very false views of this subject, which it would be easy to confute, from the acts of the different congregations appointed to correct the text of the Vulgate. In one of these, the arguments for the rejection of 1 John v. 7, seem to have been seriously taken into consideration. In the Bible used by one of these congregations, now in the library of the

^b This was Don Leopoldo Sebastiani, since deceased.

Barnabite Fathers, the following note, by the secretary, is written in the margin :—

*“ in grae. cod. vati. et
al. grae codd. necnon et
in aliquibus latinis non habentur
verba virgula signata.”*

The letters printed in italics are supplied, having been cut off in binding the volume. But a valuable and interesting account of the corrections of the Vulgate, almost entirely from inedited sources, may be shortly expected from the pen of my learned friend F. Ungarelli. Many errors on this subject will be then corrected. But while, from an unwillingness to prolong a letter already of unwieldy dimensions, I refrain from entering more fully upon this important discussion, I cannot help cautioning my reader against the erroneous conclusions to which the work of a late learned Catholic seems to lead, that the decree of the Council of Trent and the critical evidence stand in direct opposition. He observes that “Here the communicant with the See of Rome takes a higher ground those, therefore in communion with the See of Rome, who now reject the verse, fall within the Council’s anathema.”¹ The answers to this objection are urged with little strength or feeling of interest, yet the whole of the dissertation is so constructed as to prove, that on critical grounds, the verse has to be rejected! Such an opposition cannot, and here certainly does not, exist. I remain, &c.

N. WISEMAN.

ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME, *March 27, 1833.*

¹ *Horæ biblicæ.* Lond. 1817. Appendix, p. 383.

ANCIENT
AND
MODERN CATHOLICITY.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Dec., 1843.

ANCIENT

AND

MODERN CATHOLICITY.

ART. IX.—*A Voice from Rome*, A.D. 1842. London, 1843.

WE should not have thought of noticing this small pamphlet, consisting of letters lately published in the *English Churchman*, were it not that we consider it a type, a representation, of a certain class of views, which we are inclined to treat with respect, though sometimes, we own, it is hard to do so.

In England, we believe we may say, that there are three different systems of ideas of the Catholic Church.

The first is the true one, to which we of course hold with all our souls: that the Church in communion with the Holy See alone represents Catholicity, and that she alone has the prerogative of being the Spouse of the Lamb, and as such “without spot or wrinkle;” that they who would have truth and holiness, must come into her as she is, without haggling or pretending to make terms; or, Donatist-like, holding out, till she may choose to alter or modify herself to their taste.

The second is that peculiarly happy conception of Catholicity which sees all its attributes and characteristics in the Anglican establishment, just such as it is; which would not for the world disturb an atom of existing things, would not think of transforming

the lawn into the cope, or the table into an altar, nor of interfering with the arrangements, domestic, ecclesiastical, or civil, of the clerical body. This is the comfortable theory of public meetings on religious subjects, and of Church societies of all sorts; and may be considered as under the especial patronage of the bench of bishops and other dignitaries. Such phrases as "our truly apostolic Church," "our apostolic branch of the Catholic Church," "our pure and primitive Church," are its tocsins and its watchwords. Far is it from our intention at present to disturb their slumbers, who sleep comfortably on this system. It is to the upholders of the third that we wish principally to address ourselves. This is a sort of middle course, not the old (we trust exploded) *via media* system, but one which would fain have a Church moulded between present Catholicity and present Anglicanism. It considers the tone of the one too high, that of the other too low; and it would lower the one, and screw up the other, till both accorded upon a middle note. To what extent each change should be carried, whether Rome should relax more than England strains, or whether the task should be equally divided, is by no means a settled point. For we suspect, that if those who wish for unity upon this theory were asked, first to settle among themselves the amount of curtailments, modifications, and changes of every sort which would satisfy them on our parts, no two would be found to agree upon the exact line which we must descend to, to meet the alterations in an ascending direction, which they would ask from their own establishment.

And now to our reason for noticing the little work before us. It is the production of one belonging to the last of these classes, and is characteristic of many

persons in it. Its purport is to hold the balance between the evil (as its author deems it) and the good, which Rome presents to a two-years' observer. We have heard lately of several English travellers, engaged in the occupation that has given birth to these pages ; of persons who go about—not as formerly, to gaze on the wonders of modern art, and explore and sketch the remains of ancient grandeur ; but to pause, pencil in hand, opposite any memorial of rustic piety, or the more devout, than scientific, images on the walls of the Suburra or of Trastevere, and there, to the astonishment of passers-by, note down the rude and simple rhymes inscribed under them ; who enter churches and basilicas, not to venerate the memory and relics of apostles and martyrs that repose therein, but to spy about, beside and behind the altars, to detect any lurking tablet that proclaims an indulgence. These memorials are carefully noted down, and published as documentary evidence of the corruptions of the Apostolic Church and See. With such materials our author has filled upwards of thirty pages ; while, as a set-off, to show his impartiality, he gives us in half that number, an account of the countless and boundless charities of that city, which is as great in the practice of the third, as it is in the mastery of the first, theological virtue.

Now what is the practical conclusion to which such modes of investigation, and their accompanying course of reasoning, are meant to lead ? Clearly this : “Rome *may* be the first and mother Church ; she *may* hold all the prerogatives granted to Peter ; she *may* have right indisputable to the veneration, the love, nay the abedience, of all men and of all Churches ; she *may* be the true and rightful centre of unity, to which all should cleave ; she *may* have been the only preserver

of many great doctrines, the only deposit of many holy traditions; she *may* alone have nourished heroic piety, ascetic fervour, virginity, mortification, the spirit of martyrdom; she *may* have exclusively produced down to our times real saints, like St. Charles, or St. Teresa; she *may* unrivalled present the pattern of Christ's Church in its universality and its oneness; all these I concede to her as clearly her right; but so long as the Pope allows these doggerel inscriptions to remain on the walls, and does not recall his concession of those certain indulgences, I, A. B., pronounce that all those claims go for nothing; I set up my judgment against that of the Apostolic Church, and, having settled in my mind that these things are idolatrous, superstitious, &c., I declare that it is better to forego all the privileges of communion with the Church, than yield to her teaching and assurance, that they are not so, or believe myself more likely to mistake and misunderstand than her." Such is the conclusion—shall we say it!—to strain out such gnats of abuses (taking them at their very worst) and justify one's self for swallowing the camel of schism, aye, and with a good hunch of heresy upon it!

But, alas! how easy it is to make for ourselves excuses, when we cling to an error. These, and such other topics, are put forward by many persons, as pleas and reasons for their not joining the communion of the Holy See, as bars to the possibility of the Anglican establishment's being again united to it. Let us therefore come to terms. Let us suppose that His Holiness were to accede to their wishes, and order an abundant application of whitewash to the obnoxious localities, so as to efface every inscription which any of these theological tourists may consider objectionable; were to withdraw every concession of indulgences more ample than they

would approve of, and forbid by stern laws anyone to wish his neighbour in salutation, the blessing or prayers of our Redeemer's Mother (for these form one head of accusation); let us, in one word, assume that all the grievances pointed out by the "Voice from Rome," or other such works, were at once redressed—does anyone imagine for a moment, that the English Church would at once rush repentant to the arms of her offended Mother, or that the crosier of Canterbury, which assumes to be that of St. Augustine, would be laid at the feet of St. Gregory's namesake and successor? It must be the merest delusion to imagine that these are the obstacles to unity: a thousand prejudices, a thousand passions, a thousand interests, and what is worse than all, but cannot be numerically described—an utter deadness of feeling, an insensibility to the claims or importance of religious unity in those who occupy high places, and a cold political idea of a Church, in her rulers, secular and ecclesiastical; these form obstacles which *no* concession on our part could at present remove. Let those, then, who really desire unity, look for it themselves and for themselves. We would recommend to them the epistle addressed by St. Augustine to a nun, who, being a convert, was so greatly shocked at the disorders which she thought she had found, or even had really found, in the lives of Catholic ecclesiastics, that she was thereby tempted to return to her former schism. Now that great Father does not attempt to deny the truth of her allegations, but strongly exhorts her not to allow these apparent evils to lead her astray to a schismatical communion, in which she could not have salvation. "*Si enim de isto sæculo exires separata ab unitate corporis Christi, nihil tibi prodesset servata integritas corporis tui.*" And further he tells her concerning those whom she felt

inclined to rejoin :—" Ab ea (Ecclesia) vero separati, quamdiu contra illam sentiunt, boni esse non possunt ; quia etsi aliquos eorum bonos videtur ostendere quasi laudabilis conversatio, malos eos facit ipsa divisio."^a

The persons with whom we are dealing, cannot consider these sayings hard from us ; for they take great pains to make out our Church to be not only corrupt, but idolatrous, in order to screen themselves from the imputation of schism. We, in return, must deal plainly with them ; and they must not be more sensitive than they wish us to be. We know that many people unfortunately adhere to the Anglican system on other grounds, equally untenable, but at least not unjust nor unkind to us, who would not allow the imputations of this class of persons to be valid. With these we are not *at present* dealing ; we have in mind those who sit in judgment upon the Church, and rely on their own partial views, for justification of their remaining out of her communion.

However, we feel disposed to treat even them in a more good-natured tone than some of our remarks may seem to indicate ; for, really serious as are the charges made against us, we can afford to be good-humoured under them. This outcry about abuses, and particularly about idolatry, or the peril of it, has been a standing war-cry of the Church's enemies from the beginning ; and we may very calmly listen to it, after the indignant castigations it has received from St. Jerome. Eunomius, Porphyry, Vigilantius, were loud in their day, in denouncing the honour shown to saints as excessive, superstitious, and idolatrous. They were, in this respect, the Protestants of the earlier ages. They employed the very arguments now urged against us ; they spoke nearly in the same words. There is

^a Ep. ad Feliciam, ep. ccviii. tom. ii. col. 776, ed. Bened.

consolation in this; and we feel almost a pleasure in having to speak on behalf of our poor and ignorant brethren, as that father did in defence of "the ignorance and simplicity" of some pious men, and women more particularly, in his time, when he asks, with similar feelings, "Idololatrias appellas hujusmodi homines?"^b And in order to carry out our intention of keeping a good temper in our discussion, we have a mind to pursue it entirely by the pleasant mode of historical narration. We mean to add rather to the budget of facts, which the industrious collectors, of the class we are dealing with, love to gather. We will try to match their narratives by others no less interesting or curious; and then leave our readers to judge which has the best of it.

We may imagine, if we please, some Persian gentleman, of ancient days, going on his travels, through Christian countries, with that instinctive horror of idolatry, and of worship through visible symbols, which became one accustomed to feed his piety only on the ethereal subtlety of the solar rays; most anxious to collect all possible evidence why *he* should not be a Christian. It is true, he understands very little of the languages of the countries through which he passes, and cannot be supposed to enter much into the habits, the ideas, and the feelings, of their inhabitants; but, with the help of a dictionary, and a *valet de place*, he can make his way; and, at any rate, he can see what the people do, and read their books and inscriptions. What place does Christ hold in their worship?—How does God appear in relation to men? Surely, we could easily imagine him struck with the prominent place which the martyrs occupy in all the worship, in the thoughts, and words, and feelings, of Christians;

^b Adv. Vigilant Op. tom. ii. p. 394, ed. Valarsii.

whether clergy or laity, learned or simple. Not a town does he come to, but he finds the Church most frequented, nay, crowded with worshippers, to be that of some martyr; while smaller oratories, in every direction, are favourite places of prayer, because they commemorate some other saint, or contain a portion of his ashes. Not an altar does he anywhere see, which is not consecrated by their relics. Before them hang lamps, garlands, and votive offerings; around them are palls of silk, and richest stuffs; their shrines are radiant with gold and jewels; the pavement of the temple is covered with prostrate suppliants, with the sick and afflicted, come to ask health and consolation from Christ's servant: the pilgrim from afar, scrapes, with simple faith, some of the dust from the floor or from the tomb; the preacher, aye, a Basil, or a Gregory, or a Chrysostom, or an Ambrose, instead of cooling their fervour, adds confidence, earnestness, and warmth to it, by a glowing and impassioned discourse in its favour.* And if he afterwards goes and interrogates these holy men, who, he might think, were carried off by their eloquence and the heat of discourse, what is their real belief, as he cannot bring himself to go as far as they seem to do, in veneration of saints and relics, he receives some such answer as this:—“What! will you not reverence, but rather contemn, those by whom evil spirits are expelled, and diseases cured; who appear in visions and foretell in prophecy; whose very bodies, if touched, or even honoured, are gifted with as much power as their holy souls; the drops of whose blood, or the smallest symbol of whose

* See, *inter alia*, the Homilies of S. Chrys. on SS. Bernice, &c., tom. ii. p. 645, ed. Bened.; of St. Basil in xl. Mart. tom. ii. p. 149, ed. Bened.; of St. Gregory Nyssen on St. Theodorus, tom. iii. p. 580, ed. 1638.

sufferings, have as much efficacy as their entire bodies?"^d Or what will he say if one of these grave and learned men shall remark to him, by way of extolling the glory and merit of the martyrs:—"Perhaps, as we are purchased by the precious blood of Jesus . . . so some may be purchased by the precious blood of martyrs?"^e Surely he may, at first sound of such words, exclaim, that the saints are made equal to their Lord, and that this must be a sad and idolatrous departure from what He may be supposed to have taught. And if he stops his ears, and does not admit or accept of explanation, what must we expect from him but a most mistaken report?

Again, he looks about him. At Antioch he finds the church of St. Barlaam richly decorated with paintings; but all representing the life and death of the saint: Christ is introduced, but as if in illustration, or by chance, into the picture.^f At Nola he finds a magnificent basilica, literally covered with mosaics and inscriptions, full of the praises of saints, and especially martyrs.^g At Rome he sees the basilicas of the apostles, of St. Lawrence and others, adorned with similar encomiastic verses. Surely if he sends forth "a voice from Rome," it will be to proclaim that, *to him*, all this seems excessive reverence, and, if you please, worship of men, no matter how holy. We should like to know how some great Father would have answered him; for that answer would just serve our case at present. If he descend into the catacombs,

^d St. Gregory Naz. Or. ii. adv. Julian. Op. tom. i. p. 76. Par. 1609.

^e Origen, Exhort. ad Martyr. Op. tom. i. p. 309, ed. De la Rue.

^f See the Homily, probably by St. John Chrysostom, in St. Basil's Works, tom. ii. p. 141, ed. Garnier.

^g S. Paulini Op. Ep. xxxii. ed. Murat. p. 194.

the favourite retreat of devout Christians, what does he find? Martyrs everywhere, their tombs hallow each maze of those sacred labyrinths, and form the altar of every chapel. Their effigies and praises cover the walls; prayers for their intercession are inscribed on their tablets. He goes into the houses of believers; memorials of the saints everywhere. Their cups and goblets are adorned with their pictures; for one representation of our Saviour he finds twenty of the blessed Virgin, or of St. Agnes, or St. Lawrence, or the apostles Peter and Paul.^b What shall his "voice" pronounce these? What encouragement will it give to his brother fire-worshippers to embrace the Christian religion? Once more, we should have liked to see St. Jerome's answer to it.

Certainly, if we had nothing remaining from the early Church, except the Liturgy, the ancient Christians would stand before us just as we do before others, when they look only at our solemn worship. In fact, the two Liturgies, theirs and ours, are the same. An Anglican fancies that so far, and no further, are we conformable to the practice of antiquity; and he will agree with us; unless he takes objection to the prayers for the departed, and the commemoration of martyrs, invariably found in every ancient Liturgy, as in ours, though carefully expunged, by the wicked pretenders to reform the perpetual practice of the Church of God—those who spoke of the Spouse of Christ as Pilate did of her Lord:—"emendatum ergo illum dimittam."^c But, fortunately we have plenty of other documents to show us what the belief and practice of the ancient Fathers was on

^b See Buonarotti's *Osservazioni sopra alcuni Frammenti di vetri antichi*.

^c Luc. xxiii. 16.

extra-liturgical matters, such as form the staple of publications like that before us. We have their homilies, to which we have already referred; but we have what, in this respect, is even more interesting, a great body of familiar and anecdotic matter in their epistles and biographies, which, more than anything else, enable us to judge whether those great and holy men thought and felt Catholicly or Protestantly; or, if you please, Romanly or Anglicanly. The evidences of *popular* religion are sought nowadays in documents such as would and could only be similarly preserved. The conversion of M. Ratisbonne, for instance, will have probably to be found, in after-ages, in the letters and *brochures* of the present day, or in some collection of edifying histories; and many of the verses and descriptions which so much scandalize our modern traveller, will possibly fall before a change of taste, or *edax vetustas*; and unless found worthy of a place in the laborious collection of some Fabretti or Muratori, posterity will only know of them through the gleanings of curious pryers into such matters for controversial purposes. In like manner many of those lesser feelings, those more homely sentiments and thoughts, which were interwoven with the every-day religion of the ancients, those tales which simple piety recorded for edification, not for evidence, are not to be sought in the solemn records of public deeds, nor often in earnest treatises on great dogmatical controversies, but in the un-bosoming of friend to friend in familiar letters, or in the narrative of private virtues and domestic histories. If much of these has been lost, sufficient remains to show us the great men of the Church bending from their doctor's chair to the warm-hearted simplicity (called, in our age, credulity) of their poorest children,

believing and proclaiming, with unsuspecting confidence, tales of wonder, whereby God seemed glorified in His saints ; and telling them in such manner, that they form most interesting tests, for ascertaining with whom their feelings and belief accorded—Rome or England ; trustful, faithful, joyful Rome, or doubting, suspecting, moody England.

But we are not acting up to our promise. Let us, therefore, come to the point. In proof that the blessed Virgin is " worshipped as the mother of mercies, temporal and spiritual," the author before us appeals to the Baron de Bussière's account of M. Ratisbonne's conversion from Judaism, " which he distinctly attributes to the immediate operation of the Virgin Mary ; for he relates, that it was effected by her actual appearance to him " (p. 16). Now what is meant to be granted, and what to be doubted here, we do not know. We suppose no one doubts that M. Ratisbonne, from a Jew, did become a Christian, and has become a religious ; having abandoned home and friends, and given up a long-cherished alliance. Anyone might as well deny that Sir R. Peel is prime minister. That he went into the church of St. Andrew a Jew, and came out a Christian, is attested upon evidence as certain as any fact can well be — that of trustworthy and honest men, who saw him and spoke with him before and after. For the change something must account. That it was a *true* conversion from Judaism to Christianity, with great temporal sacrifices, is clear ; and such a conversion must have been the work of Divine grace. How communicated, is the question. The only witness can be the convert. He tells us it was through an apparition of the Mother of God, who instructed him in the mysteries of our holy religion.

Are we to believe that a person is chosen by the Divine goodness for an object of a most singular act of grace, at the moment that he devises and tells an abominable falsehood; to rob Him of the glory of it, and give it to another, by feigning a vision of the blessed Virgin? What does the author of the "Voice" mean to throw doubts on? On the apparition, as for such a purpose impossible? Or on the consequences drawn from it? Surely not on the latter; for if the vision was true, it was right to consider the blessed Mother of God, not as the source, but as the channel, of a great "spiritual mercy."

If he wished to insinuate that it would be derogatory to God's honour, or incompatible with His revealed doctrines, to believe such a mode of communicating grace and religious instruction possible; and, consequently, that the whole must be a figment or a delusion; we will, in answer, relate another similar story, in which not a Jew, but a bishop, was the party. And we will premise that we have it on the best authority.

The person to whom we allude was a young man of singular piety and virtue. Left young an orphan, he devoted his youth to study, in a celebrated university. There his assiduity in learning was only surpassed by the purity and innocence of his life, which stood the test of severe trials, and escaped the snares laid for him by profligate companions, jealous of his virtue. Having made himself master of all profane learning, he entered on a course of sacred studies, under the most celebrated professor of the day, and soon made considerable progress. He was, however, while yet young, put into orders, and even named bishop, before he considered himself well enough grounded in theological knowledge; though probably his humility led

him to exaggerate his deficiencies. He found himself quite unequal to the task of preaching the divine word, and on the eve of his first undertaking this duty, he lay sleepless on his bed, in agitation and anxiety. Suddenly he saw before him a venerable figure of an old man, whose countenance, attitude, and garb, bespoke great dignity, but who, at the same time, appeared most gracious and affable. Terrified with this appearance, he leaped from his couch, and respectfully asked him who he was, and for what purpose he had come. The old man replied, in a gentle voice, that he had come to calm his doubts, and solve his difficulties. This declaration soothed his fears, and made him look towards his visitor with a mixture of joy and awe; when he perceived that by steadily pointing with his hand towards the other side of the apartment, he seemed to wish to turn his attention in that direction. Thither he consequently turned his eyes, and there he beheld a lady of peerless majesty, and of more than human beauty, so resplendent, that his eyes could not bear the brightness of the vision, but he must needs bend them and his countenance down, in reverential awe. Thus he listened to the conversation of these two heavenly beings, which fully instructed him on the subjects whereon he felt anxious, and at the same time informed him who his gracious visitors were. For the lady, addressing the other by name of the Evangelist John, requested him to instruct the youth in the mystery of heavenly piety; and he replied, "that he was ready to do even this, to please the Mother of his Lord, seeing that she desired it." And accordingly he did so.

Such is our counterpart to the narrative objected to by our author, respecting M. Ratisbonne's conversion. Now before giving the name of our authority for this

wonderful history, or of the person to whom it refers, we will only beg our reader, if not sufficiently versed in ecclesiastical biography, at once to answer both points, to say to what Church or religion he considers either the writer or the subject of this anecdote belongs. Could he believe us, if we told him that it happened to Bishop Ken, or Bishop Wilson, or Archbishop Laud; or that we had transcribed it, as gravely told by some Anglican clergyman in a life of any of them? We are sure he could not. The idea of a Protestant bishop's learning his faith from a vision of the blessed Virgin, would be deemed repugnant to every principle and every feeling of the religion. But were we to tell the reader that the Bishop spoken of was St. Alphonsus Liguori, or even St. Charles, and the narrator an Italian monk or priest, he would at once allow, that such an account from such a pen, concerning such a person, was perfectly consistent with the principles of both; and though, if a Protestant, he might declare that he did not believe the story, he would acknowledge that it does not surprise him to find it in such a place. It must be then a Catholic, and not a Protestant, who thought or said he saw such a vision; and it must be a Catholic, and not a Protestant, who has recorded it, as believing it. And so it was. The bishop who thus learnt his faith was St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, only little more than two hundred years after Christ; and the recorder of the vision is the brother of the great St. Basil, St. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa.* This would have been a nice anecdote for our ancient note-taker upon the doctrines of Catholics.

We do not intend to pursue any very regular order; but just to pick up a few incidents, such as may show us how our fathers in the Faith thought, upon matters

* De Vita S. Greg. Thaum. Op. tom. iii. p. 545, ed. Par. 1638.

whereon we are so censured. And as we have begun with the saints, and the wonders wrought by them, we will say a few words more concerning them. Let anyone take the trouble to read any of the miracles recorded by St. Augustine in the twenty-second book of the City of God, and let him apply the criterion we have already given, of asking himself in what class of modern religious writings he would expect to meet with similar occurrences. Take, for instance, the history which he gives of a certain poor tailor at Hippo, named Florentius, who being in great want of clothing, and having no means of procuring it, went to the church of the Twenty Martyrs, and prayed aloud that he might be clothed. Some young men, professed scoffers, overheard him, and followed him, jeering him, as though he had prayed to those twenty martyrs for fifty-pence to buy a coat. The poor old man, however, going his way, found a fish cast on shore, yet alive, which he sold, and a gold ring was moreover found in it, and given to him by the honest purchaser, with these words: "See how the twenty martyrs have clothed you." Now we are pretty sure, that many a poor Italian would, in his distress, do just what Florentius did, go to some church of the B. Virgin, or of some saint, and kneeling before the shrine, pray as he did. And we are equally clear that a party of English Protestant youths overhearing him (the *adolescentes irrisores* nowadays of Catholic practices), would make as good a joke of the matter as did the young Hippo fashionables. So that it requires little to settle the *dramatis personæ* of St. Augustine's anecdote, on transporting it to modern times, and give Catholic and Protestant each his part. And no doubt, either an ancient or a modern collector of proofs, that the

¹ Op. tom. vii. p. 668, ed. Bened.

saints are made conveyors of "*temporal* mercies" in the Catholic system, would find the history equally applicable to his purpose; with this exception, however, that, as St. Augustine gives it among other proofs that the *Christian* religion is still evidenced by miracles, the ancient traveller would have turned it against Christianity, as the modern one would against Catholicity; so completely are the two identified.

Let us take a case bearing more minute comparison. In a little work containing the history of the Medal of the B. Virgin, commonly known by the epithet of *miraculous*, there are many extraordinary but well-attested cases of conversion of hardened unbelievers through the prayers of their friends, and the application of that blessed symbol, to the unconscious sinner. These to flesh and blood, to the dull sense, and the cold heart of the present generation, are hard to believe; and they are either silently rejected, or openly scoffed at—would to God it were only our adversaries! For instance, a soldier, we are told, in the military hospital at Paris, is on the point of death, and rejects every succour of religion. In vain the sisters of charity who attend him, in vain the good curate, make every effort, to bring him to a right feeling, on the necessity of making his peace with God. He rejects every offer; and at last, with violent oaths and brutal rage, imposes silence on the subject. Reduced to extremity, the pious sisters have recourse to prayer to the B. Virgin, not expecting him to survive the night; and place a medal secretly in his bed. He sleeps tranquilly, and on awaking, mildly sends for the curate, receives the sacraments with great devotion, and dies in peace.^m This is only one instance out of many; often they are pious relations,

^m Notice Historique, sixth ed. p. 76.

a daughter or a wife, that procure the grace ; in every one we read of most fervent prayers poured out to God and His B. Mother. Those who would join in the "Voice from Rome," cannot be much edified, nay, on the contrary, are likely to be shocked and scandalized, by such a narrative. "What efficacy can there be supposed to exist in a mere symbol thus placed, like a charm" [so they would say] "near, or on, a person heedless or unconscious of its presence? Who can believe that 'spiritual mercies' will thus be granted upon prayers to a saint? We must enter these down in our note-book, as the deceits or the delusions of popery."

Be it so, but we must have a corresponding one to enter into the tablets of our ancient inquirer, and here it is :—"There was a man at Calama of high rank, named Martial ; advanced in years, and having a great repugnance to the Christian religion. He had a Christian daughter and son-in-law, that year baptized. They entreated him, with many tears, to become a Christian ; but he positively refused, and drove them from him with violent indignation. His son-in-law bethought him of going to the chapel of St. Stephen, and there praying for him to the utmost of his power, that God would give him grace to believe, without delay, in Christ. He did so, and with many sobs and tears, and with the ardour of sincere devotion. Departing, he took with him some flowers from the altar, and, when it was night, placed them at the sick man's head. He slept ; but before daybreak, he called out, requesting that they would send for the bishop, who happened to be with me in Hippo. On hearing of this, he begged that some of the clergy might be sent for. They came ; he declared himself a believer ; and, to the astonishment and joy of all, was baptized. So long as

he lived, he had in his mouth the words, 'O Christ, receive my spirit;' though he did not know that these were the last words of the blessed Stephen when stoned by the Jews. They were, likewise, his last, for he soon expired."ⁿ Here, then, we have our parallel; each part of the modern narrative has its counterpart in the ancient; and if one is to be rejected, so is the other. There is, in both, an obstinate infidel, or sinner, who will not be converted to God: there are pious persons who pray to the saints; there is a badge or symbol of their intercession—for the flower from the altar means the same as the medal;—in each case it is placed in the bed of the unsuspecting patient; and, in both instances, he awakes at morning to ask for God's minister, to administer a Sacrament of forgiveness. Yet, the one narrative is of France, in the nineteenth century; the other of Africa, in the beginning of the fifth (A.D. 427). How comes it that such accidental coincidences should be found, with such distances of time and place, save as fruits of one tree, as plants of one seed, as evidences of one system? And do not they who find fault with such evidences, in our times and countries, equally censure them in others; and thereby place themselves in the awkward position of scoffers of Christianity—not of what they are pleased, in the later instance, to nickname Popery?

We could carry on much further this comparison between miracles which are considered the production of modern Catholicity, and such as are recorded, with perfect confidence, by ancient writers, and in every instance draw the same conclusion—a conclusion which goes quite as far as dogmatical texts from homilies or treatises, to prove the identity of ancient and modern Catholicity in those matters on which the latter is

ⁿ S. Aug. lib. xxii. cap. viii. De Civit. Dei, tom. vii. p. 668.

most harshly treated, as being a departure from the former.

Connected with the subject, there is a point on which we wish to touch, as being one of common reprehension, not only in the little work before us, but in many others of a similar tendency. We allude to that species of partiality which seems to be shown at a given time, to a particular sanctuary, in which some shrine or image is found, through which God is thought to work more wonderfully than elsewhere. Such, at this moment, is the shrine of St. Philomena, at Mugnano, or the Church of St. Augustine, at Rome. It would be easy to bring together many passages from ancient writers, that show the prevalence of a similar feeling, and its consequent practices; indeed the book and chapter in the works of the holy doctor just named, to which we have more than once referred, will furnish proofs of the peculiar regard in which certain places consecrated by relics (like the oratories of St. Stephen) were held by him. But such feelings of veneration, confidence, and attachment, towards one saint and his sanctuary, are by no one so well represented as by the learned, the holy, and the truly amiable St. Paulinus. Few of the Fathers let us more delightfully into the secrets of the Christian life and the Christian heart in ancient days, than the bishop and poet of Nola. A patrician by birth, the scholar of Ausonius (who compares him to the ancient classics) by education, a poor monk by choice and vocation, the delight and friend of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, and all the great and good men of his day, the admiration of the whole Church, he exhibits in his letters a simplicity of faith, a tenderness of affection, an innocent playfulness, a cheerfulness, and an unaffected humility, which most pleasingly combine with

the depth of his devotion, and the richness of his sacred learning. There are few of the Fathers who gain more upon our every-day, and homelier feelings, and make themselves more familiar with their readers than he does. But throughout his works he is the servant of St. Felix, the glorious martyr of Nola. Near his tomb, though himself a native of Gaul, he resides, a poor hermit (having sold all, and given the price to the poor) and priest; afterwards bishop of the see. To celebrate the anniversaries of that saint, by poems and festivities; to build a basilica in his honour, and adorn it with mosaics and verses; to make his friends love him and believe in his power, and bring them to visit the shrine of his father and patron, as he styles him—seem his most pleasing occupations. How Catholic his language, everywhere, to Catholic ears! How *Popish* it must sound to Protestant! By way of example: the “Voice from Rome” cries out against the following occurrence, or at least the feelings it excited. A young woman is run over by a cart (an empty one, but Roman carts are not very light even when empty), close to the church of our Lady, attached to the hospital of the Consolazione, while holy exercises were going on within. She escapes what everyone considers an imminent danger of death; and the people cry out “E un miracolo della Madonna!” This is brought as a proof that temporal blessings are sought from the Blessed Virgin. It so happens that St. Paulinus relates a something similar accident, and reasons much in the same way as those poor Italians did. Fortunately, he had no English Protestants near. A person of the name of Martinianus was coming to him with letters, or rather with a message; and on his way from Capua to Nola, a distance of about twenty miles, he met a man with mules returning home, after

discharging their loads; just as one may now meet them among the Tusculan hills, after they have taken wine to Rome; so he wisely bargained for a ride, which was given him cheap.

“Nactus vacantem sarcina mulum (ut solent
Jumenta revocari domum)
Parvo breve per iter ære conductum sedet.”

When about half way, the mule took fright and grew restive. Martinianus (who had lately been more of a sailor^o than of a horseman) was thrown, and flung to a distance. But, though he fell among stones and thorns, he was neither bruised nor scratched. How did this happen? St. Paulinus has no difficulty about it. Had he been expressing it in prose, and in Italian, he would have said, “E un miracolo di San Felice.” As he was writing Latin verse, he describes and explains the event as follows:—

“Medioque mox spatio viæ
Muli pavore sessor excussus procul
Vectore subducto cadit.
In ora lapsus ora non læsit sua,
In saxa fusus et rubos
Nec sente vultum, nec lapide artus contudit,
Felicit exceptus manu;
Qui jam propinquantem ædibus fratrem suis,
Non passus occursum mali
Suis periculum in finibus capessere;
Hostem removit invidum,
Et hunc fidelem compotem voti, *suis*
Confessor induxit locis.
Nostrisque juxta sedibus gratum intulit.
Felix patronus hospitem.”^p

* St. Paulinus, in this poem, describes a practice yet existing among English sailors, that of whistling for more wind:—

——“Gubernator——

—Fortiores provehendis cursibus
Auras vocabat sibilo.”—v. 44.

^p Poema xxii. 405-421, Op. col. 583, ed. Murat.

St. Felix, therefore, St. Paulinus hesitates not to say, prevented this poor man's being hurt, and brought him safe to his journey's end; because he was within some few miles of his church, and was journeying towards his client Paulinus. Surely St. Paulinus was a downright Romanist.

And so he was. For he made it a point to go to Rome every year, as he repeatedly tells us, for the festival of the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul;^a and he was much consoled by the kindness which the Roman pontiff showed him, in inviting him to Rome, to commemorate the anniversary of his election. Now this brings us to the point for which we first referred to St. Paulinus,—his attachment to one particular sanctuary, and his affection to one saint, there honoured. In one of his epistles to his friend Sulpicius Severus (whom he had been disappointed in not meeting that year in Rome), he reproaches him, half playfully, but not without seriousness, for neglecting to come and visit, as he had promised, “his lord [St.] Felix,” as he calls him (*Dominum meum Felicem*). He bids him beware how he incurs his displeasure, by promising a pilgrimage, and not fulfilling it. “*Scio quidem*,” he adds, “*et in Domino meo Felice viscera pietatis affluere; sed te quæso, hoc eum magis diligas et timeas, quo melior est et indulgentior . . . ut tanto magis carissimum Dei metuas offendere quanto promptius dignatur ignoscere.*”^r This surely is most unprotestant, and therefore, most Catholic, language. We could imagine it used by the good

^a “*Romæ, cum solemnî consuetudine, ad beatorum Apostolorum natalem venissemus.*”—*Ep. xx. col. 108.* “*Cum apostolicam solennitatem voti nostri, et itineris annui socius celebrasset.*”—*Ep. xliii. col. 254.*

^r *Ep. xvii. col. 96.*

archpriest of Mugnano (St. Paulinus was not yet bishop when he thus wrote) to some friend who had promised to visit the tomb of his patroness St. Philomena, and had disappointed him. Had such a letter come from him, what a rich page it would have made in a modern English traveller's note-book ! For want of it, therefore, we beg to offer him that of the curate's neighbour in place and in faith—St. Paulinus.

Before shutting up the volume of his works, there is another topic, allied to the preceding, which we may be glad to hear him on. But we must introduce it by a little domestic history, on which again we will crave the reader's opinion, whether the parties in it were Catholic or Protestant.

There lived in retirement, in a house of religious women dedicated to God, a nun of singular piety and wisdom, the sister of two bishops, both distinguished for the learning of their writings, and the holiness of their lives. One, the more celebrated one, was just dead, and his loss was deplored as a public calamity by all good men. The other, having a little leisure after this event, resolved to go and visit his saintly sister, whom he had not seen for many years. The distance was great ; and when he was within a day's journey from the place where she lived, he had at night a most remarkable vision, which turned into fear the hopes of the future. "For I seemed to myself," such is his own account, "to bear in my hands the relics of martyrs, from which darted forth a splendour like that of a burnished mirror held against the sun ; so that my eyes were dazzled by the brilliancy of the light. Three times that night did this vision come before me." Unable to divine its meaning, he looked forward to events to expound it. As he

* Ubi inf. p. 188.

approached the monastery, he inquired about his sister, and heard for the first time that she was somewhat indisposed. His coming had, in the mean time, been made known, and a large concourse of persons went out to meet him. But the holy virgins modestly awaited him in the church, and after he had prayed, and had given them his blessing (they bending lowly to receive it), they retired. On entering the convent, he found his sister very ill in her cell; but instead of a bed, she lay upon a plank on the ground, with another for her pillow. We will not detain our readers with the edifying account of her words and prayers in her last hours; how she dismissed her brother when the sound of the vespers' chant reached her cell, that he might not omit this duty;^c how often when she closed her own sublime prayer, she signed herself with the cross on her eyes, her mouth, and her breast; and how her last act was to raise her hand again to do so." These things may serve to help the reader in his judgment, as to the religion of the holy persons engaged; but are not what we are seeking. The pious virgin thus expires, and a religious matron, the friend of the deceased, undertakes, as she had promised, to prepare her holy remains for interment. We will now give the words of the bishop, her brother. "Vestiana arranging with her own hands that sacred head, and having her hand under the neck, exclaimed, looking towards me, 'See what sort of a necklace this saint wore;' and at the same time loosening a string from behind the neck, stretched out her hand and showed us an iron cross and a ring of the same metal, which both hung, by a thin cord, over her heart. Upon this I said: 'Let us share this inheritance. You keep the cross as a memorial; I will be content with this ring

^c Page 192.^u Page 195.

as my legacy; for this likewise has the cross carved upon its boss.' Whereupon she, looking more closely at it, said to me: 'You have not made a bad choice; for the ring is hollow under the boss, and in it is inserted a portion of the wood of life (the true cross); and thus the cross engraved above, rightly indicates that which lies underneath.'"^x

Will any reader hesitate in deciding of what religion were all the persons here engaged? Were they Anglicans? We should be indeed glad to know, how many crosses — not golden ones, worn as vain ornaments outside, but of inferior metals, concealed, and lying over the heart, and how many reliquaries similarly placed, could be collected in the households of English bishops. But look at the neck of any swarthy peasant who open-breasted digs the fields, or plucks the vines, of Italy, and you will find the "thin cord" around it, that sustains some similar memorial of Christ's passion. Nay, in either of our islands, we hesitate not to say that the poor Catholic might be distinguished from the Protestant by these very badges — the cross, or the relic, or the medal, or even the ring with a cross for its posey, suspended round the neck, and lying on the breast, in life and after death. We have known the body of a shipwrecked Catholic so recognized at once. How tightly and closely does a "little thin cord" like this bind together the belief and feelings of the old and modern Church, and prove them still the same! How home to the Catholic heart does such a trifling incident casually recorded come! Come, how full of convictions, of encouragements, of consolation! How joyfully even can one bear to be taxed with superstition, in company with the holy Macrina, the sister of St. Basil, and her biographer,

^x S. Greg. Nyss. in Vita S. Macrinæ, Oper. tom. ii. p. 198.

St. Gregory of Nyssa! For these are the persons of whom we have been writing.

But if those who had chosen such complete poverty as this holy nun, wore but a reliquary of iron, it must not be fancied that this argued any light estimation of so precious a relic as a portion of the holy Cross: for they that could, or might, without violation of a religious engagement, would wear it enshrined in gold. We have a beautiful letter of St. Paulinus upon this subject. Severus had asked him for relics of martyrs, for the consecration of a church which he was building. He replies that if he had but "a scruple of their sacred ashes to spare he would send it." But as he required all that he had for his own new church, he sends him another present to add to the relics which he must get elsewhere; this was a particle of the "divine Cross:"—"Invenimus quod digne, et ad basilicæ sanctificationem vobis, et ad sanctorum cinerum cumulandam benedictionem mitteremus, partem particulæ de ligno divina Crucis." The portion which he sends is, he informs him, almost invisible, but he must believe it to possess all the power and virtue of the entire Cross, a present safeguard, and a pledge of eternal life. "Accipite magnum in modico munus; et in segmento pene atomo astulæ brevis sumite munimentum præsentis, et pignus æternæ salutis. Non angustietur fides vestra carnalibus oculis parva cernentibus, sed interna acie totam in hoc minimo vim Crucis videat." The relic was inclosed in a small gold tube,—"*tubello aureolo rem tantæ benedictionis inclusimus.*" When afterwards he sends Severus verses for the inscriptions in his church, he sends two copies for the altar; one in case he puts this particle of the holy Cross with the other relics;

• Ep. xxxi. col. 189.

the other, should he prefer to keep it to wear himself. The reasons which he gives in favour of the latter alternative are perfectly Catholic. "If, however, you would rather keep this blessed portion of the Cross at hand, for your daily protection and care, lest once shut up in the altar, it may not be ready for you and at hand, when wanted for use, &c."*

Now we should much like to try the experiment of this passage upon a well-informed Protestant (not versed in ancient learning) and an ignorant Catholic; it would indeed be the *experimentum Crucis*. The former would at once smell out Popery in it, have some vague figure of superstition floating in sulphureous vapours about his head; but would surely not be able to attach any definite, intelligible meaning to the words. He certainly would not believe them extracted from the letters either of John Wesley, or of Bishop Bull. Only fancy Mr. Bickersteth writing such a letter! Nay, or Dr. Hook, who the other day published in the papers, that if anyone said he ever used the sign of the Cross, he told a falsehood! But our poor Catholic, we will be bound to say, would at once feel that the language was perfectly Catholic; he would know what it meant, and understand, if he had the means, how to put it in practice. The queen of the French lately knew how to do this, how "having such a relic at hand to use it," when she took the reliquary with a portion of the holy Cross from round her neck, and placed it on the forehead of her dying eldest son.

But it is time to pass to something else, and to draw to a conclusion. The writer before us takes great pains to prove, that at Rome, the people have perfectly wrong ideas concerning the Divine Mysteries,

* Ep. xxxii. col. 201.

or the Mass. All idea of a Communion, he tells us, is excluded, "and it is regarded simply as a sacrifice expiatory for the living and the dead. That it is so in masses for the dead, no person can dispute." He then goes on to say, that it is very rare for anyone to communicate except the priest, and insinuates that only a few times a year is communion general in Rome. To this assertion we must give an unqualified denial. There are thousands who frequent communion every week, many more frequently, and even every day. And as to monthly communicants, there surely is scarcely a house in the city that has not some. But our traveller, very probably, like most English visitors, did not know when or where to look for them. Possibly before he had left his snug quarters in the Piazza di Spagna, on a winter's morning, many a church had been filled and emptied more than once. But we wish, at present, only to attend to the erroneous views which he attributes to the Romans, respecting the adorable Sacrifice of the altar. He is wrong in stating that "it is regarded *simply* as a sacrifice expiatory for the living and the dead." Take out the adverb, and all is right. But to bring the subject before our readers, as we have done other topics, we will turn to another part of the book, in which he speaks about, or against, matters connected with masses for the dead.

Quoting examples of privileged altars, he gives us the following inscription and translation from "what is called St. Gregory's cell, in his church upon the Coelian hill." "Hac in cella T.T. Gregori I. Pont. Max. celebratæ missæ animam cruciat. purgatori solvunt.—During the times of Pope Gregory the First, masses celebrated in this cell, released a soul from purgatorial torments" (p. 34). There is certainly some

mistake here. The verb is in the present, and cannot refer to the times of St. Gregory. We have no means at hand of verifying the inscription, but we suppose TT. is a mistake. But we are not sorry for it, inasmuch as it authorizes us to inquire whether St. Gregory himself would have countenanced our writer, or us, in our respective and conflicting views of masses offered for the dead, *in that very place*.

He tells us, that in his own monastery, the very one on the Coelian Hill, there had died, three years before he wrote the account, a certain monk, named Justus, who having been infirmarian, had put by a trifling sum of money, made by his medical practice. Coming near his end, he manifested it to his brother, a layman, who in his turn revealed it to the superior. The latter, alarmed at such an unusual violation of religious poverty, carried the matter to St. Gregory. He ordered the most severe treatment; that none of the brethren should go near him to comfort him in his last hour, and that his body should be buried in unconsecrated ground, and his money (after the manner of the Egyptian solitaries in a similar case) should be cast disdainfully upon the corpse. He died, however, with great signs of contrition and repentance. After thirty days, the holy Pontiff tells us, that he thought with compassion of the punishment he had incurred in the other world, and how he might be freed. "Then," thus he writes, "calling to myself Pretiosus, the superior of the monastery, I said to him, 'Our brother, lately dead, has now been long tormented in the fire (*igne cruciatur*); we must show him some charity, and see if we can help him, and snatch him thence. Go, therefore, and see that you offer up sacrifice for him for thirty days, counting from to-day, so that not a day be allowed to pass, without the

saving Victim's being immolated for his pardon.'” This was carefully complied with. After thirty days, St. Gregory tells us that the deceased appeared to his brother, who knew nothing of what had been done for his benefit, and told him that till now he had been in suffering, but that day was released.* St. Gregory, therefore, believed that the sacrifice of the mass did, in his times, free souls from the torments of purgatory, and that on the Coelian hill. And, moreover, he believed that there was no harm in offering up that holy sacrifice many times, for the express purpose of expiating the sins of the dead.

And as for the living, St. Gregory believed the same. For in a following chapter, he gives an account of an extraordinary occurrence, well attested, it having happened only seven years before. Agatho, archbishop of Palermo, was summoned to Rome by the Pope; and of course obeyed. On his voyage, he encountered a severe tempest; and during it, a sailor, of the name of Baraca (when St. Gregory wrote, a clerk in the church of Palermo), getting into a boat which was in tow of the vessel, went adrift, in consequence of the rope breaking. The ship itself was driven ashore on the island of Ustica, and the good archbishop, having waited three days, and giving up the poor sailor for lost, did what alone he could for him, as he supposed him dead; “ordered the sacrifice of the saving Victim to be offered up for the pardon of his soul, to Almighty God.” After this, he sailed to Italy. What was his amazement, on landing at Porto, to see the very man! Upon interrogating him, he was told that the boat in which he was carried out to sea had soon capsized, but he had fortunately got upon the keel. There, after long fasting and

* Dial. lib. iv. cap. iv. Op. tom. ii. p. 468, ed. Bened.

fatigue, he began to faint, when suddenly he seemed to be between sleeping and waking, and a person appeared to him, who gave him a morsel of bread, which instantly revived him; and a ship passing near picked him up. Upon further questioning him, the bishop found that this happened at the very moment that the holy sacrifice was offered up for him at Ustica.^b

Now our present inquiry is not whether these narratives are true or not: we have not the slightest difficulty in believing them; but if those with whom we are at issue choose to reject them, it makes no matter as to our argument. All we have to ask is: could such an accident have been believed and related by a Protestant divine or bishop? Could he have consistently given it in illustration or corroboration of *his* doctrine respecting the Church service, and its application to the living and the dead? But could not a modern Catholic do so even now, without altering a syllable? Does it not agree, *ad amussim*, with that doctrine respecting the mass, which our tourist blames?

We will only give another instance of the application of the sacred mysteries to a particular purpose, where not communion, but the procuring of a benefit, was the object of their celebration.—A certain man had a country house, which he believed to be infested by evil spirits. In the absence of the bishop, he asked the clergy, that one of them would go there and pray for the removal of the visitation. "One of them went, and there offered up the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and prayed most earnestly that the annoyance might cease; which, through the divine mercy, it did."^c Here was mass celebrated to obtain a blessing for an

^b Cap. lvii. p. 469.

^c St. Aug. ubi sup. p. 666.

individual. In fact, the man and the priest (both whose conduct St. Augustine, the narrator, approves) did exactly what Catholics, nowadays, would do, under similar circumstances. No Anglican clergyman, we suspect, would think of performing the Communion service for such a purpose. There is another Popish feature about this African transaction, which may be worth mentioning. This good man had procured from a friend some earth from the Holy Land, from Our Lord's sepulchre, and had hung it up in his room, that it might be a protection to him. But, having now no further use for it, "He did not wish, out of reverence, to keep it any longer in his room." What did he do? Why, hearing that St. Augustine and another bishop were in the neighbourhood, he asked them to come over. They did so, and he told them all that had happened; and begged that the holy earth might be reverently buried in some oratory. They did not laugh at him, nor tell him that he was superstitious; but they complied; and a youth afflicted with palsy, having been carried to the place, at his own request, walked home cured. Whether the Catholicity of the learned and holy father, who seriously and believingly gives this account, agrees with ours, or with that claimed by the Anglican church, let any one decide.

It is now time that we close. The sort of inquiry which we have been pursuing, may be considered but of a secondary importance, compared with the discussion of grave authorities, and solemn texts. And so we mean to consider it. But often minute coincidences in trifles may do much to corroborate substantial proofs. In tracing the descents of nations or of tribes, the naturalist will attach importance to small resemblances. The prevalence of the same garb, or of some food, or of some weapon; similarity of habits in

domestic or public life, will do as much often in establishing the identity of some modern people with an ancient race, as a mass of ethnographical and historical data. And so, every incident of the private and more hidden life of the ancient Christians, which unlocks their daily thoughts and exposes their domestic practices, affords an element of comparison between them, and modern aspirants to descent from them, similarly decisive, though equally, in themselves, insignificant. It may, indeed, be said, that a few examples such as we have, without much trouble, brought together, do not justify the frequency of similar practices among modern Catholics. To this we reply, in the words of St. Jerome, when answering a similar objection, "*Quod semel fecisse bonum est, non potest malum esse si frequentius fiat : aut si aliqua culpa vitanda est, non ex eo quod sæpe, sed ex eo quod fit aliquando, culpabile est.*"^d But, in addition, we beg to observe, that one incident that has escaped the ravages of time, given as a matter of course, and as an ordinary occurrence, represents a multitude of others, resembling it, that have been lost. It is like the arrow or the helmet found in the tomb of an ancient people ; they enable us to reconstruct their armoury : no one, for a moment, assumes that they happen to be specimens of an unique and never-repeated model. And so, who will imagine that no one but St. Macrina wore a cross and relic round her neck, and that none but St. Gregory Thaumaturgus ever believed in visions of the Blessed Virgin, because these examples may stand nearly alone in the records of their respective times ?

^d "That which is good if done once, cannot become evil of being done frequently ; and where a fault is to be avoided, the fault consists not in its being often, but its being ever, incurred."—*Adv. Vigilant.* p. 396.

Both events are narrated without surprise—the stamp of novelty. The same is to be said of every other instance which we have given.

We may, therefore, safely conclude, that, so far as we have gone into the matter, “a Voice from Rome” might be raised, strongly protesting against the religion of those who set up for reformers and critics of the great Apostolic Church, instead of bowing down their necks in docility to its authoritative teaching: a voice which would rise, in murmurs, from the catacombs, shaking the very ground with its mysterious utterings; which would ring, with golden echoes, from the tombs of martyrs, beneath altars, against the mosaic apse that overhangs them; which would travel, on the wings of Catholic faith and Catholic love, to distant lands, over Alps and seas; beat on the shores of Africa, of Pontus, and of Spain; and return from all, in the indignant words of their greatest men, to confound, in its thunder, the presumption of modern schism, that pretends alliance with ancient Catholicity.

THE
HIGH CHURCH THEORY
OF
DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for July, 1837.

AA

THE
HIGH CHURCH THEORY
OF
DOGMATICAL AUTHORITY.

ART. III.—1. *Primitive Tradition recognized in Holy Scripture*; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the Visitation of the Most Worshipful and Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor of the Diocese, Sept. 27, 1836. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. Second edition. London: Rivingtons. 1837.

2. *The British Critic*, No. XL. (Oct., 1836.)

It is ever our desire to treat religious subjects with becoming seriousness; and to meet all controversial antagonists in a meek, and consequently in a courteous, spirit. There may be apparent exceptions to this rule. Sometimes the rudeness or effrontery of those who assail us is far more remarkable than their arguments; and it becomes our duty to disarm them of the advantages which these qualities unfortunately confer on men who appeal to public passion or vulgar prejudice. On other occasions they have endeavoured to take an unfair advantage, and thought to disgust, or terrify us from the field, by shaking before our eyes some Gorgon shape, which they effect to hold up as the likeness of our religion, instead of brandishing the keen and polished blade of honourable warfare. As in the first case duty has compelled us to deal with

our adversaries as a knight of old would have done with a churl that assailed him with base, ungentle weapons, so have we in the second acted as he would have done with a necromancer that sought to prevail by philtres and poisoned charms; and in either case, have made our onslaught, without admitting our opponents to participation in the rights of controversial chivalry.

But there are others, whom, though engaged on the same side, we would not willingly treat in like manner. If the conventional law of such lists as we now enter, allow us not to lift up our vizors, and declare who we are; if the cognizance which we at present bear be that of an order, of our religious community, rather than of an individual; not the less do we claim credit for personal sincerity when we say, that we take the field without a particle of any feeling that could cloud the purity of devotion to the truth. We have no desire of any triumph over *the men* whose principles we are about to examine—we shall regret if a word escape us that could reach their feelings with pain; and we shall even endeavour to harden our own against the ruffling impressions, which allusions, phrases, and charges, wherein they occasionally indulge, are apt to make upon them.

That a sermon delivered on a solemn occasion by a distinguished clergyman of the Anglican Church on "primitive tradition" should excite our attention, and call forth our remarks, will not be matter of surprise. But we may be asked, upon what grounds we unite it, in a common article, with the miscellaneous contents of a critical journal? Though we might plead the privilege of our caste as reviewers, to have no law but our good will for heading our articles, we waive this plea, and are willing to descend to an

explanation of our motives. We have ourselves been too lately sinned against by the unwarrantable attribution of our articles to individuals, who have been made responsible for their contents,* not to be anxious

* Dr. Whittaker, for instance, has thought proper to make Dr. Wiseman responsible for an article on Catholic Versions of Scripture in our second number. "I cannot pretend to follow you," he says, addressing this gentleman, "through the account which you have thought proper to give in your second Lecture, and in the last (second) number of the *Dublin Review*, of the Versions of Scripture." (A series of Letters to the Rev. N. Wiseman, D.D., Letter II. p. 170.) After analyzing the statements of this article regarding one or two versions, he draws from them conclusions intended to be ruinous to Dr. Wiseman's character as a scholar. "The specimens which I have given are quite sufficient to fix your character for ever as a man of patient and faithful research" (p. 179). "In the account which you have given of Brucioli's bible, there is not one particle of truth, with the exception of the date of the *editio princeps*. I am convinced you never saw the book, &c. This is not a scholar-like mode of proceeding; and for myself, I can only say, that after this specimen of your biblical researches, I would not trust to your accuracy in any one particular, without references to the original authorities" (p. 175). "You will, however, permit me to remark, that, after having detected your very remarkable (not to say singular and somewhat extraordinary) dealing with Brucioli's version, I do not exactly see what right you have to speak disrespectfully of Mr. H. Horne." (Here follows a quotation from Dr. Wiseman's acknowledged Lectures.) "Truly, Sir, I think you may apply your own petulant censure of Mr. Horne to yourself with abundant propriety" (p. 180). All these solemn and uncourteous charges want only one ingredient to make them really serious—they are totally destitute of their necessary foundation. Dr. Whittaker did not think it necessary to ascertain whether Dr. Wiseman was the author of the paper so unmercifully censured. As the rev. gentleman is more than 1,000 miles from the scene of accusation, and may not think it worth while to confute Dr. Whittaker's voluminous letters in a separate form, we beg to declare that he was not the author of that paper, nor of any part thereof, and that he is noways answerable for its contents. Not that we mean by this removal of responsibility to admit the accuracy of the rev. vicar's conclusions, or of his charges against the author of the paper, whoever he may be; but we feel it a duty

to avoid a similar injustice with regard to others. We do not intend to consider Mr. Keble as personally concerned in the opinions which we may quote from the 40th number of the *British Critic*, though we do not suppose that we shall make a single extract from it that he would disavow. But this being the organ of the Church party to which he conspicuously belongs, we think it will be in our power to illustrate the doctrines, and correct the statements, which his interesting discourse contains, through the fuller developments to be found in the article referred to.

The article in the Review, which we have specially in our eye, is the sixth, headed, "Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Catholic Church." These Lectures have been examined with more or less severity in various publications; and, should it be the author's intention to reply systematically to them all, we may appear to step in between him and his just quarrel, by prematurely singling this criticism for our present observations. Such, however, is not our intention. We mean not to attack its contents, as Dr. Wiseman's champions, but only to discuss it as a manifesto of the principles, and a vindication of the claims, maintained by the party that consider themselves the true upholders and representatives of the English Church. And as the method by them pursued involves necessarily a manifold charge of misrepresentation against the author whom they review, we flatter ourselves that we may justly step somewhat aside, to vindicate

to oppose this disingenuous and "unscholarlike" conduct of attempting to ruin a clergyman's character for accuracy, by falsely assuming what first required proof—his being the author of what is impugned. This specimen may be perhaps "sufficient to fix Dr. Whittaker's character for ever as a man of *candid* and faithful research."

his character, whenever that of our religion shall seem assailed through his side.

The fearless and uncompromising revival of High Church principles by a small body of youthful, learned, and as far as we have opportunity of knowing, amiable clergymen, in the face of much unpopular feeling, of great alienation from their brethren, and of little encouragement from their superiors, does credit to their sincerity and to their zeal. They have placed themselves in a prominent position, and in the post of honourable danger. They have endeavoured to throw outworks beyond the acknowledged precincts of their Church's walls, to protest against the encroaching lines of dissent; and they have manned them, we think in forlorn hope, determined to keep the pressure of the attack at a greater distance. We indeed, on our side, complain, and their more immediate adversaries—their rebels as they consider them—agree, that they have seized, for this purpose, a territory, not their own, but of our legitimate possession. They disclaim the charge, and affirm that they stand in a middle position—between “Romanism,” as they choose to call it, and dissent. But, when they speak thus, it is not as a school, or a party; they boldly profess to declare the real sentiments of their Church, “the Anglican,” as they style it, considering it a part of the Catholic, or universal, Church of Christ dispersed over the world. Of this Church, “the Roman” is acknowledged to be a part, though they think it has not preserved purity of doctrine. But we must specify more in detail the principles of this school, and we trust we shall be found to do so with perfect impartiality.

First, then, “in the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture is not, on Anglican

principles, the Rule of Faith.”^b It is, however, “its only standard, test, or depository.”^c There is, consequently, “a guide, though not an infallible one, but subordinate to Scripture. English theology considers that Scripture is not an easy book, and, as so considering, believes that Almighty God has been pleased to provide a guide. The twentieth article declares that the Church ‘hath authority in controversies of faith.’”^d

Secondly, “the English doctrine does not encourage private judgment in matters of (necessary) faith, but maintains the Church’s authority.”^e In this respect the Anglican doctrine is “as distinct from Catholicism,^f as from common Protestantism. The Catholic gives to the existing *Church* the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith; the Ultra-Protestant to the *individual*; and the Anglican to *antiquity*, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity among us.”^g The authority of the Church, is, however, “subordinate to Scripture,” inasmuch as she “may indeed pronounce doctrines as *true*, which are not in Scrip-

^b *British Critic*, p. 388. ^c P. 385. ^d P. 377. ^e P. 378.

^f Where we write “Catholic” or its derivatives, the *Critic* has “Romanist” and “Romanism.” It is evident that these terms are not used in scorn; but our ears are not accustomed to hear them employed in any other way, and we trust we shall be excused if we refuse to admit them, and decline every other appellation but our own, simply “*Catholics*.” By this substitution we feel we are doing an act of justice to the *British Critic* and its party. For any of our readers who found in our extracts the term “*Romanists*,” and had not read the entire article, would confound its writer with that common herd of Protestant controversialists, who think there is an argument in a nickname. We use the term “Anglican,” because it is that adopted by the critic himself, when speaking of his own Church.

^g Page 384.

ture, so that they are not against it ; but she may not declare points to be necessary to salvation, and act accordingly, unless she professes to derive them from Scripture. Her decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error ; is entitled to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*.”^h All this, nevertheless, is not to be understood of any particular Church, but gives as its results, “ that the whole Church, all over the world, will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true.”ⁱ

Furthermore, the Church of England being an “ independent apostolic Church, a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ,”^k she “ claims the spiritual allegiance of the people, to the exclusion of *all rival claims* ;” “ the duty of communion with her is founded upon reasons derived from absolute religious obligation ;” and hence we Catholics, “ of these countries, are very justly charged with schism ;”^l while “ Wesley was a heresiarch.”^m

Such we believe to be an accurate summary of the doctrines maintained by the party whose organ is the *British Critic*, concerning the Rule of Faith. We have woven into our account the very expressions of that journal, because it seems so excessively jealous of any mistake about its principles ; and reproaches Dr. Wiseman repeatedly for drawing his ideas on the subject from authorities which its friends reject. Before, however, analyzing, as we intend, this scheme of Church authority, we must be allowed to dwell at some length upon Mr. Keble’s sermon.

Its text is 2 Tim. i. 14,—“ That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.” Before he closes with the real

^h P. 379. P. 380. ^k P. 434. ^l P. 435. ^m P. 402.

subject of his discourse, the Professor endeavours to establish a parallel between the circumstances of Timothy, when addressed in these words, and the clergy of the Anglican Church in these its calamitous times. He then divides his discourse into three parts, proposing these inquiries : *first*, What is the deposit or charge committed to Timothy ; *secondly*, Are the English clergy at present partakers of it ? *thirdly*, Have they the Holy Ghost dwelling in them for a faithful discharge of duty ?

After some interesting remarks upon the word used for "deposit," in the text, and the probability of its being a conventional, ecclesiastical term, Mr. Keble concludes that the committed treasure consisted of *doctrine* (p. 17). This interpretation he further confirms by the testimonies of the ancient fathers. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "we may assume with some confidence, that the good thing left in Timothy's charge, thus absolutely to be kept at all events, was the treasure of apostolical doctrines and Church rules ; the rules and doctrines which made up the character of Christ's kingdom" (p. 20).

2. Is a similar deposit yet in the hands of Christian ministers ? "Some," says Mr. Keble, "will reply to this question at once,—We have the Holy Scriptures, and we know for certain that they contain all that is important in Timothy's charge." He then asks, "Can this be proved ? Must it not be owned, on fair consideration, that Timothy's deposit did comprise matter independent and distinct from the truths which are directly scriptural ?" (p. 21). In answer, we will give the preacher's own words, when he urges the reflection that the New Testament was not written at the date of this epistle.

"The holy writings themselves intimate that the persons to whom

they were addressed were in possession of a body of truth and duty totally distinct from themselves, and independent of them. Timothy, for instance, a few verses after the text, is enjoined to take measures for the transmission, not of Holy Scripture, but of things which he had heard of St. Paul among many witnesses. The Thessalonians had been exhorted to hold the traditions which they had received, whether by word or apostolic letter.”—P. 22.

Here follow other texts urged by Catholics, after which Mr. Keble proceeds as follows :—

“ If the words, the commandments, the tradition which the latest of these holy writers severally commend in these and similar passages meant only or chiefly the Scriptures before written, would there not appear a more significant mention of those Scriptures ; something nearer to the tone of our own divines, when they are delivering precepts on the rule of faith ? As it is, the phraseology of the Epistles exactly concurs with what we should be led to expect, that the Church would be already in possession of the substance of saving truth, in a sufficiently systematic form, by the sole teaching of the Apostles. As long as that teaching itself, or the accurate recollection of it, remained in the world, it must have constituted a standard or measure of Christian knowledge, though it had never seemed good to the Almighty to confer on us the additional boon of the books of the New Testament.”—P. 23.

The sentiments of the Fathers are then appealed to, as confirmatory of this opinion. “ Do they not employ Church tradition,” asks Mr. Keble, “ as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it ? and consequently as fixing the interpretation of disputed texts, not simply by the judgment of the Church, but by the authority of that Holy Spirit which inspires the oral teaching itself, of which such tradition is the record.”ⁿ Again : “ If we will be impartial, we cannot hide it from ourselves, that this *unwritten* word, if it can be anyhow authenticated, must necessarily demand the same reverence from us ” (as the written must have done from the early Christians, when they ascertained

ⁿ Page 24.

it), "and for exactly the same reason—*because it is his word.*"^o

But here the learned professor introduces a limitation, necessary to prevent a last step over the Rubicon of Protestantism. When the Scriptures were thus written, they were so written as to "contain every fundamental point of doctrine;" so that now "nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith necessary to salvation, but what is contained in, or may be proved by, canonical Scripture."^p This second part of the discourse then closes, by reducing to three classes the objects for which apostolical tradition is a rule. 1. "The systems and arrangement of fundamental articles;" 2. "Interpretation of Scripture;" and 3. "Discipline, formularies, and rites of the Church."

This outline will leave in our readers no room for astonishment, that Mr. Keble's sermon should have been openly charged with Catholicism, or "Romanism." Now, we declare that, to a very great extent, the charge is well-grounded. Strike out a few sentences, in which he tacks his theory to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the sermon might have been preached in St. Peter's at Rome. Whether these few passages neutralize the body of the discourse, we leave it to the members of his Church to decide. How far his opinions are ours, that is Catholic, we have a right to judge; how far they are, at the same time, those of his professed religion, let others see. But in the meantime, we will offer our remarks, to aid the passing of a rightful judgment.

Mr. Keble acknowledges that tradition preceded

^o The words in *italics* throughout these quotations are so in the original.

^p Page 30.

Scripture, and attested its canon (p. 28). The authority, too, of that tradition, was divine; it was based upon the commission given to the apostles to teach, "He that heareth you heareth me" (p. 32). The tradition itself was God's "*unwritten word*." This authority, then, was paramount, for it had no co-ordinate: it was sole. Nay, more, it was all-sufficient; for it was the only "standard and measure of Christian knowledge." After a considerable lapse of time, according to the learned professor, "in the interval between Clement and Ignatius on the one hand, and Irenæus and Tertullian on the other;" that is, after about TWO HUNDRED YEARS after Christ, "the canon of the New Testament had first become fixed and notorious;"^a and then tradition lost its prerogatives, and Scripture became the sole standard. We ask, on what authority the assertion rests, or how is its subsistence justified? Was the divine commission or authority withdrawn from the pastors, whose teaching, till now, had been the test or standard of truth? Had it been said, "He that heareth you, heareth me, till a New Testament be written, after which your delivering of a doctrine will cease to be a ground for believing?" A right clearly conferred, and not limited by, or made dependent on, contingent events, requires a plain abrogation before it ceases. Traditional, authoritative teaching, *was* clearly appointed; the substitution of Scripture *never* was;^r how then can this have abrogated, or even limited the other?

But, further, Mr. Keble himself allows that "the all-sufficiency of Scripture is nowhere expressly affirmed in Scripture itself."^s Where, then, *is* it affirmed? If in tradition, let it be shown. Let us have passages sufficient to verify the rule, *quod semper, quod ab*

^a Page 30.^r See note E, p. 59.^s Page 29.

omnibus, quod ubique, declaratory that the Church despoiled herself, or considered herself despoiled, of that *complete* authority and *supreme* place which she had occupied in teaching truth, according to Mr. Keble's admission, previously to the decision of the Scriptural canon. If no such passages, either many or few, can be quoted, as we are sure they cannot, we have nowhere any limitation made to the first authority, nor any ground at all for the all-sufficiency of the Scripture in dogmatical teaching. Let us balance the admissions of this sermon—on the one hand, that originally, tradition, or a body of doctrines held in deposit by the Church, was the appointed and sufficient standard of faith with a divine sanction—and on the other, that Scripture never claims all-sufficiency, or declares the cessation of the previous commission to teach; and we leave it to a candid reader to judge, whether the acknowledged rights of the earlier method of preserving truth can have been superseded by the introduction of the second. But if, as Mr. Keble intimates (p. 31), this substitution of Scripture for tradition, as the sufficient standard of dogma, is to be gathered from tradition itself; and if this doctrine of the Articles is to be considered matter of faith, or rather the foundation of all Protestant faith; then we have an instance of a point of faith “not contained in, nor proved by, canonical scripture,” but based upon tradition alone. In a word, we have the all-important assumption of Protestantism, that Catholics err by preserving to tradition its original virtue, made to rest upon this very tradition! For, we repeat it, it is acknowledged that, in Scripture, its own all-sufficiency is nowhere expressly declared.

We affirm, that the method pursued by the reverend professor in this part of his argument, will not bear

a strict investigation. In fact, it is by inuendoes, assumptions, and surmises, rather than by close reasoning, that he attempts to engraft his Church's opinions concerning Scripture, as exclusively dogmatical authority, upon his theory of "primitive tradition." It is an ill-jointed piece of work: it is new wine in an old bottle, which can ill stand such fellowship. The following is the passage in which the task is performed; we note by *italics* the expressions to which we beg to direct attention.

"On the other hand, *it is no less evident*, that Scripture, being once ascertained, became, in its turn, a test for everything claiming to be of apostolical tradition. But on this part of the subject *there is less occasion to dwell, it being, I suppose, allowed on all hands.* . . . The character which our article justly assigns to the Bible, of so 'containing all things necessary to salvation, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' This character the Bible could not, from the very force of the terms, acquire, until a sufficient portion of its contents had appeared, to include in one place or another, every one of such fundamentals. *Nor are we sure* of this condition having been fulfilled, until the appearance of St. John's gospel and epistle. This consideration *may serve to account* for the comparative rareness of quotations from the New Testament, in the writings of the first century."

Here follow some proofs of this scarcity, and of the appearance of more frequent appeals to Scripture in Tertullian and St. Irenæus; after which the author continues:—

"*From all this I gather*, that in the interval . . . the canon of the New Testament had first been fixed and notorious, and that the fact had been observed which is stated in our article . . . that every fundamental point of doctrine is contained in the unquestioned books of that canon, taken along with the Hebrew Scriptures. And this observation *being once made, would of course immediately suggest* that golden rule, not of the Anglican only, but of the Catholic Church, that nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith, &c. *At any rate it is unquestionable*, that by the time of Irenæus, *i.e.*, towards the end

of the second century, the fact had been universally recognized, and the maxim thoroughly grounded and incorporated into the system of the Catholic Church."—Pp. 28-31.

If the Church of England is willing that this should stand for its demonstration of its Article, on the exclusive dogmatic authority of Scripture, we heartily congratulate it on the state of its foundations. Let the argument be inculcated in church and school, let it be urged upon the laity, and recommended to the clergy; and we Catholics may fold our arms, and

† In a note on this passage (F, p. 60), the author develops this appeal to St. Irenæus. First, he quotes a passage which speaks only of two ways of studying Scripture, but applies in no way to dogmatical teaching, or the grounds of faith. He then refers to the well-known passage of St. Irenæus, given by himself in the sermon (p. 24). St. Irenæus asks: "What if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures?" &c.; upon which Professor Keble thus reasons: "The mere question, If we had not the Scriptures, must we not follow tradition? implies that, having the Scriptures, we have the substance of truth, necessary to salvation, and, so far, depend not at all on tradition." Perhaps it might have been so, had St. Irenæus shown that he meant to draw this consequence, and not exactly the contrary. For he puts the question in order to prove that "it is easy to receive truth *from the Church*,"—not from Scripture; and that, even in his time, "whoever willed might receive from her the waters of life, since therein, as in a rich depositary, the Apostles did most abundantly lodge all things appertaining to truth" (p. 24). Surely this does not prove that St. Irenæus imagined the Scriptures to have impaired the Church's rights as the depositary of truth. It can hardly be considered fair to draw inferences from a writer's words, as though he had not himself done it; it can be still less fair to draw one exactly at variance from the one he draws. Nor, after all, could Mr. Keble's argument be, under any circumstances, correct, for St. Irenæus says nothing at all about "the substance of truth necessary to salvation;" and if his words proved the substitution of Scripture for Church authority, there is nothing to restrict them to this one object, but they would imply the complete abrogation of *all* traditional teaching, which it is not the professor's desire to admit. He had no right to introduce any such restriction, and the context gives no sanction to it. St. Irenæus is the only father whom he quotes.

patiently wait its effects. Let it be preached in every Anglican congregation, that originally, for nearly two hundred years, the very rule of faith propounded by us was the only one, the Church being the sole depositary of truth, and tradition its only standard; and that these were fully guaranteed by divine sanction: but, that *we may gather*, from the growing abundance of scriptural quotation in writers of the second century, that a certain fact (which, be it remarked, is by them nowhere recorded or alluded to) had been observed, to wit, that Scripture contained all the essential doctrines of religion;—further, that *such an observation being made*,—of which there is no evidence,—*would of course suggest* the golden rule of the 20th Article;—finally, that the result would be a transfer of the dogmatical deposit from divinely sanctioned tradition to Scripture, which nowhere declares itself all-sufficient,—which transfer takes place about the time of St. Irenæus, though no ecclesiastical act or declaration, no historical record, no voice of attesting witnesses, has preserved a note of such an important revolution! Grant all this—grant our rule two centuries of undisturbed, authorized possession, and then we may safely allow such a tissue of unsupported assumptions and conjectures to deprive it of its rights—if they can!¹

¹[Let us suppose that a writer on Roman jurisprudence were to assert that the application of this science was based upon traditionary teaching until the Theodosian code incorporated the traditions in a written system, we should naturally expect that this would be proved by the laws themselves, or by competent authorities. There would be a line of demarcation between the practical application of the two systems. Now would Mr. Keble show that the Fathers, in dealing with errors, act on two principles before, and after, the supposed recognition of Scripture? Would it not be a new and startling theory to Protestants that the Catholic rule and practice as to dogma

With the third division of Professor Keble's sermon we deal not, at present; nor do we know that we shall ever revert to it. Whether it is right or not in the ministers of the Anglican Church to consider themselves gifted with the Holy Ghost, and with a grace "altogether supernatural" (p. 43), is indeed a solemn consideration, pregnant, to them and their flocks, with awful results. If they have always believed themselves so divinely aided, we suppose they must always have taught their subjects to reverence their words, as became their high calling. But then we would ask, if the imposition of hands, which is an "outward and visible sign," confers a grace distinct from "the preventing or assisting grace common to all Christian persons" (p. 43), is it not a sacrament according to the definition of the Anglican Catechism? For Mr. Keble and his friends will not deny Christ's institution, upon the supposition of which their entire argument respecting Church authority rests. Yet it will not be said that their Church has ever taught Order to be a sacrament. Either their theory leads to contradiction of the doctrine usually, or rather universally, taught in their church respecting the binary number of the sacraments, or else the definition which it gives excludes Order from the number; in which case, as the outward sign certainly exists, either the inward grace or the divine institution must be wanting. Now, the absence of either is fatal to Mr. Keble's doctrine, as applied to his Church or her ministers.

It is time now for us to return to the declarations of the *British Critic*. What we have said, however, of Mr. Keble's sermon must not be considered entirely a digression. We have treated the subject of tradition existed alone for two centuries, and that then (no one knows how) the Anglican intervened, and expelled it?]

somewhat at length, because the correctness or the inconsistency of the High Church party's opinions concerning it, must materially affect their theory of Church authority. If they can establish what the reverend professor desires, a middle view between the Bible alone, in each man's hands, and a deposit of dogmatical truth, distinct from it, yet enduring in the Church, as the real Anglican doctrine, they will have some chance of success in proving the existence of a middle state between individual judgments and infallible definitions, and between the anarchy of sectarianism and the universal unity of Catholicism.

In looking over the theory of Church authority, set forth in the passages which, higher up, we wove together from the *British Critic*, and which indeed on many other occasions are proclaimed by that journal and its friends, two things particularly strike us; *first*, the attempt which they make to palm their peculiar and unauthorized sentiments upon the Anglican Church; and *secondly*, the utter inconsistency and fallacy of the scheme of Church authority which they claim in its behalf. We will offer a few obvious remarks upon these two points.

I. A great portion of the article to which we principally call attention is taken up with an attempt to prove that Dr. Wiseman has been unjust towards the English Church, by confounding her principles respecting the Bible and the rule of faith, with those maintained by all other Protestants. He is charged with "misunderstanding its doctrine;" and the reviewer is "indeed surprised that so well-read a man should not have recollected more of the divinity of Anglican standard authors, than to assert that the fundamental principle of Protestantism, as *recognized in the English Church*, is 'that the Word of God

alone is the true standard of faith.'"^x This is but one passage out of many wherein the same reproach is uttered.

Before the present inquiry can be satisfactorily solved, it is necessary to have some criterion, by which the avowed principles of a religion can be known, in contradistinction to the opinions tolerated within its pale. Now we apprehend that the fairest and surest test is universality of consent, or diversity of opinion, in teaching, concerning it. If the symbolical documents of a Church, that is, its avowed definitions, or authorized expositions, of faith, decide, or seem to decide, a belief, and the great body of its pastors or teachers agree in one interpretation of that definition, and allow none other to be taught, that we hold to be the doctrine of that Church. If it allow two most different, or even contradictory, sentiments to be publicly taught, the holders of neither have a right to call theirs more than opinions *in* the Church. We can illustrate this rule either from the Catholic, or from the Anglican, Church.

The Catholic Church holds a dogma often proclaimed, that in defining matters of faith she is infallible. No one would be allowed by her to teach any other doctrine; whoever does, ceases practically to be a Catholic; and if he be a pastor, and prove obstinate in his error, must be removed from his office. At the same time, while all agree that this infallibility resides in the unanimous suffrage of the Church, whether united in council or dispersed over the world, the Italian doctrine extends it to the plenitude of authority residing in its head, and makes his dogmatical decrees of force antecedently to the expressed consent, or implied acquiescence, of the other pastors.

^x Page 384.

The Gallican denies this, and maintains that time must be given for the Church to assent or dissent; and only in the case of assent considers the decree binding. Practically, as experience has proved, either opinion leads to the same results; but manifestly the assertors of neither can demand that their peculiar theory be received by others, as the defined or acknowledged principle of the Church, neither think we that they could reasonably charge with "misunderstanding their *Church's doctrines*," such as would not so receive it. But let us take an example from the English Church.

Her 22nd article "at one fell swoop" pounces upon purgatory, indulgences, veneration of images and relics, and invocation of saints, and utterly condemns them all, most irremissibly. The 30th article asserts the use of the cup to be of equal importance, by divine institution, with the receiving of the other element in the Lord's Supper. The 28th, that transubstantiation is opposed to God's word. Few articles probably are subscribed with greater unanimity and heartiness, by churchmen, than these; never have we heard of a single bold spirit among them flying in the face of their letter, and presuming to deliver in church a word in favour of what these condemn. Were any one of them to preach on the existence of purgatory, or the right of administering the Eucharist under the form of bread alone, we have no doubt but his diocesan would soon reprove him, and, should he turn out obstinate, remove him from his situation. The contrary opinions then to these points are articles of belief of the Anglican Church, on which no difference of opinion is tolerated in any of her ministers. But take on the other hand justification, election, and predestination, and you will find them, according as they belong to the evangelical or high-church "con-

nection," holding and teaching the most conflicting doctrines, to neighbouring flocks, without being removed, or even chid for either set of opinions which they may have chosen to embrace. It is true that the former points are but as "mint and cummin" compared to these "weightier things of the law;" but it is no less true that the Church of England allows a latitude of doctrine respecting them, which forbids us to admit the holders of either opinion as exclusively in possession of its declared sentiments. In like manner, *supposing* that Church to have defined that it "hath authority in matters of faith," and yet to allow the public teaching of two opinions within its bosom, by its legitimate ministers, one to the extent of the *British Critic's* assertions, the other to the extent of a total denial of them; we must, even in charity as in good sense, refer this matter to those on which diversity of opinion is tolerated, and refuse to accept either as the doctrine of the Church. Each can pretend only to be a doctrine taught *within* it.

There are two ways of ascertaining this variety of opinions, upon this, as upon any other point; by the examination of its living teachers, and by the appeal to more ancient testimonies. We are willing to take either test.

And first, as to the state of opinion on this subject in the present Church, we have evidence within reach. We open once more Mr. Keble's sermon, and see the following dedication:—"To the worshipful and Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Winton, and to the Reverend the Clergy of the Deaneries meeting at Winchester, this sermon is respectfully inscribed, *having been preached before them, and being now published in deference to their expressed wish, of examining at their leisure the statements therein con-*

tained." Surely had the learned professor preached only what the Church of England avowedly teaches, and what its clergy have received as her doctrines; had there been nothing *new*, or at least *uncommon* in the "statements" of his sermon, a body of dignified clergymen would not have expressed a wish to see them in print, that they might examine them at their leisure. Had he preached a tirade against "image worship" or such anticatholic statements as form the charges of a Burgess or a Philpotts, we hardly fancy that such leisurely examination, such a subjection of the sermon to the scrutiny of the "faithful eyes," would have been deemed necessary. *We* could not conceive such a demand to be made by the assembled clergy of one of our dioceses, if the preacher had only delivered the acknowledged doctrines of our Church.

These suspicions have been more than strengthened by the reception of the discourse itself among many members of the Church. The Rev. Arthur T. Russell, of St. John's, Cambridge, and Vicar of Caxton, hesitates not to call it "*an heterogeneous mixture of popery and protestantism*;" as inconsistent with the existence of the latter, as were the errors against which St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians were written, inconsistent with the profession of Christianity."⁷ This probably is an extreme opinion; and, therefore, between it and the approval of the Professor's theory as sound Anglicanism, there are innumerable degrees of reproof, harsher and milder, which the sermon has undergone. Mr. Russell, a little later, upon quoting Mr. Keble's argument in favour of tradition, "because it is God's (unwritten) word,"

⁷ Remarks on the Rev. Professor Keble's Visitation Sermon, &c. Cambridge, 1837, p. 5.

remarks, "This is the very form in which the Romanist puts his argument for the equal authority of tradition in the Scripture. True, it may be replied, but Professor Keble rejects Romanist tradition. I ask not what kind of traditions he rejects; but *if any traditions are to be revered as the unwritten word of God, the principle* is conceded to the Romanists, let the application of the principle in points of detail be what it may."² Surely it would be discreditable to the Church itself to admit that upon matters of faith, graduates of the two Universities could differ so widely in opinion; though, to speak the truth, we can hardly comprehend, in any manner, so vague a system of doctrine, that a Master of Arts of Oxford should uphold, as defined by a Church article, what a Bachelor of Laws of Cambridge should denounce as "inconsistent with the profession of Christianity."

Be this as it may, it is clear that *the Church* does not receive the doctrines of the High Churchmen as part of its defined code. And in fact what we alleged in our first number upon the Hampden case, and in what we quoted in our third, from Dr. Maude, Mr. Bickersteth, and others, goes towards establishing the same point. Indeed the Hampden case, we think, proved the Oxford divines to be only a minority in the Church. But wherefore any need of proof, when, to use the *Critic's* expression, we have *confitentem reum*? In p. 384, he finds it necessary to explain his denial that the Bible alone is admitted by the Anglican Church as the rule of faith. "Now let us understand here," so he writes, "we know full well that this is a popular mode of speaking at this day; we know well it is an opinion *in* our Church; but it is by no means universally received, much less a principle.

² Page 7.

And Dr. Wiseman, as a *well-read* divine, ought to recollect this." This reserve and caution of expression, for which we give that journal sincere credit; this serious protestation that the opinion contrary to its own is *not* universal; this acknowledgment that nevertheless it is "popular," is more than sufficient to prove that its own theory is not that of the Church, but one among conflicting systems permitted to live and contend, yet nestle together in her easy bosom.

But the writer in the *British Critic* enforces his charge against Dr. Wiseman by an appeal to existing facts. He asks if the assertions it has combated can be "truly, nay fairly," made, not "by a well-read divine, but by an intelligent observer of the English Church for the last twenty years? Is Dr. W. a stranger to the continual and violent charges brought against far the larger portion of the Church, of its making the Prayer-Book a 'safeguard' to the Bible? Has not the body of the Church opposed the Bible Society on this ground?" (p. 385). These questions regard us as much as Dr. Wiseman, and therefore we may answer them. To the first we reply that we Catholics should feel rather ashamed of any advocate who advanced no better proof that *our Church* held the doctrine of authority, than that she had a missal and a breviary, as well as a Bible. Even conjointly with others, we should consider such an argument equivalent to a betrayal of the cause. But, if making a prayer-book a safeguard to the Bible prove the maintenance of Church authority, it can only prove it in favour of that "larger portion" who make it such, and not of the Church, which equally owns the smaller portion (*if* smaller) who do not; nor can Dr. W. be charged with injustice for not drawing his conclusions from a part to the whole.

But to the second query we reply, that at first it startled and astonished us. Our memory we feared might be treacherous, so we turned over the pages of the Bible Society Reports to refresh it, and we found as follows: The society was established in 1805, and its first report gives us as Vice-Presidents, the Lords Bishops of London, Durham, Exeter, and St. David's, with four laymen. In 1808 the Archbishop of Cashel is added to their number. The following year is remarkable for the establishment of Auxiliary Societies, the first being under the patronage of the Bishop of Salisbury.^a In 1810 the list of Vice-Presidents includes the following: Archbishop of Cashel, Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, St. David's, Bristol, Cloyne, and Clogher. The Bishop of Bristol placed himself at the head of a branch society, and recommended the institute by a circular letter to his clergy. Moreover, the Committee record, with great pleasure, a donation of fifty guineas, unanimously voted by the same Bishop, the Master, and the Seniors of Trinity College, Cambridge.^b In 1813, we find among the Vice-Presidents, one Archbishop, ten Bishops, English and Irish, and the Dean of Westminster. In 1816 the number of Bishops had increased to twelve, with two Deans. All this showed the steady increase of patronage from the high places of the Church. But perhaps the opposition from the body of the Church began later. Passing over, at once, to the latest report within our reach, that of 1835, we find still enumerated at the head of the Vice-Presidents, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Norwich, Lichfield, Chester, Kildare, Sodor and Man, Calcutta and Madras, and the Deans of Bristol and Salisbury. And

^a Report for 1809, p. 220.

^b Sixth Report, pp. 296, 306.

glancing over the names of subscribers, we find that of the Most Rev. Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, upon collating the reports for half the duration of this Society, we have ascertained that *fourteen* dioceses of England and Wales have been represented by their bishops, and *two* others by their deans, in the council of Vice-Presidents, who receive an annual vote of thanks for their *patronage*. If, then, Churchmen are to decide the maintenance or the rejection of the principle of authority, by the countenance or opposition shown by their superiors to the Bible Society, to what conclusion must they come? This generation must conclude, that in almost every part of England, they have been practically encouraged and exhorted, by the representatives of their Church, to support the Society, whose avowed object is "the circulation of Scripture without note or comment." And yet the claim to authority is to be deduced from exactly the contrary supposition!

After these two bold attacks in form of questions, the *Critic* makes "a thrust in tierce," which we think we can as easily parry before it reach Dr. Wiseman's side. It is as follows:—"Nay, to go higher, do we not read in our service, the Athanasian Creed, which, whether it allows private judgment or not, clearly propounds that *unless private judgment terminate in the reception of certain most definite statements of doctrine, it incurs the Church's direct and absolute anathema?* Considering the assaults conducted by individuals on this creed; considering the continued struggle against what is sometimes called the High Church party, for a series of years past, *on the ground of its enforcing one certain interpretation of the Word of God*, under what impression, or in what state of mind, does Dr. Wiseman take for granted that the

English Church consigns the Bible to each individual, and bids him draw his faith thence?"^c

The plain meaning of which is—"Display as much erudition as you please upon texts of Scripture; but recollect that you have a certain dogma to maintain, and that your erudition must finally, by some means or other, appear to establish it. Now, I would ask anyone who feels the importance of religious truth, what kind of confidence can be placed in those who, on such principles, engage in the interpretation of the Word of God?" Reader, this commentary is not ours; it is from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Turtton, Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge, and is intended as a severe rebuke upon an assertion of the same Dr. Wiseman, that the biblical researches of the Catholic must give results conformable to the definitions of the Church.^d This he seems to consider as a monstrous ultra-Popish idea; his commentary on which, he reserved for his *bonne-bouche*, at the end of his book, as likely to startle good Protestants. Now, therefore, stripping his remarks of that personality with which the learned Doctor so abounds, we beg to place them as a target before Dr. Wiseman's breast. We cannot suppose that Oxford will reason with him on a principle as its own, which Cambridge denounces in him, as erroneous. Nay, he never went so far as to speak about "incurring the Church's direct and absolute anathemas."

We may, perhaps, be reproached by our readers, for extending this argument to such a length; if so, they must kindly bear with us a few moments more, while we discuss the appeal made from living witnesses

^c *British Critic*, p. 385.

^d "The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist considered." Cambridge, 1837, p. 337.

to the illustrious dead. The *British Critic* indeed discards the Hornes, the Tottenhams, and others; but it refers the question of Church authority to the Bulls, the Beveridges, the Lauds, the Jewels, and a few other ancient divines. They, at least, prove by their testimony, that the Church maintains its claim to dogmatical authority. It takes the trouble of making considerable extracts from their works.

We do not deny that on many occasions they seem to speak a language eminently Catholic; but we say no less, that they stood in their generation as the Oxford knot do at present, as men of one way of thinking, amidst as many or more who maintained a different or even contradictory opinion. Laud was considered by many in the Church as little better than "a papist," and was suspected, whether truly we do not pretend to say, of hankering after the institutions, and dallying with the proffered dignities, of the Roman Church. Certain it is, that upon the episcopal bench of his time were found some to treat with the papal agents about a reconciliation with the Holy See.* Many other Anglican divines, the fear of the "Geneva discipline," and Presbyterian or Socinian opinions, drove to take shelter in tradition, and to claim rights for their Church, upon the authority of antiquity. At any rate, before we can admit these writers to be urged against us, as representatives of the true Anglican doctrine, we must be satisfied that the body of that Church considers them such. Of this we have as yet no proof. Furthermore, before we can allow that their opinions were the same as those held by the *Critic*, we must have some clearer evidence than its extracts. For we find Mr. Keble's antagonist stoutly asserting, and by quotations endeavouring to

* As Bishop Montague.

establish, that the Rev. Professor's doctrine is opposed to the sentiments of these very divines. For this purpose, he cites Jewel, Archbishop Sandys, Dr. Willet, Whitaker, Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Prideaux, Taylor, Allestree, and others.

Let Anglicans themselves clear up these points, and decide—first, *who* are their acknowledged theological authorities, and then *what* these teach, and we may allow them to charge us with unfairness for not drawing our statements exclusively from them. The *British Critic* is, indeed, hard to please upon these matters. If Dr. Wiseman quotes Baxter, who has received the commendations of Barrow, Wilkins, and other Anglican divines, or Jones, whom Dr. Maltby has praised,[†] it is an insult to Beveridge to place him in such company (p. 392). If Dr. Beveridge himself is cited, it happens to be a work written by him when a young man, and not published by himself (p. 390). As to the latter circumstance, people very seldom *do* publish their own “private thoughts,” but rather leave them to be given after their deaths; and as to the first, we might allow the plea in matters of research or thought, but scarcely in treating of an acquaintance with the principle of faith held in one's own Church. Certes, St. Thomas Aquinas was not much, if at all, older when he composed many of his treatises; nor do we think that either Catholic or Protestant looks to the chronology of his works, when he quotes him as a testimony of what his Church teaches, and taught. And surely, that cannot be very clearly the principle of faith of the Anglican Church, which Beveridge,

[†] The Clarendon press, at which Jones's work was printed, is under the direction of persons appointed by the vice-chancellor of Oxford University.

about to take orders, did not know to be such, and only discovered by maturer studies.

We have various other remarks connected with this topic, which we must pass over at present. In concluding this subject, we will observe, that perhaps the reviewer may have some small right to complain of Dr. Wiseman, for not having made, in his Lectures, an exception in favour of the party to which he and his friends belong. But to blame him for not separating *the Church* of England from other Protestants, in his arguments on the Rule of Faith, is manifestly unreasonable. Let that Church, *as a Church*, detach itself from all other sectaries in its reasoning against us, let it avow disapprobation of their principles, let it be as unanimous in its doctrines concerning tradition and Church authority—we will not say as we are, but as it is itself on the rejection of Transubstantiation—and then we will acknowledge its right to record a separate plea from the great body of Protestants, when the Catholic arraigns them together for a breach of religious unity.

Further, we will observe, that it is hard to make such a charge of injustice at this time of day. From Baily's* to Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," from Jewel's "Apology" to Burgess's "Charges," we meet no traces of this distinction between Anglican and ultra-Protestant. The line of demarcation is clear and bold; "the Bible alone" on one side, "church authority" on the other, defines the challenge of the combatants; the Protestant never haggles about the terms, the Catholic never flinches from his ground. "With this sword" (Scripture), says Jewel, "did Christ put off the devil, when he was tempted of him; with

* An End to Controversy. Doway, 1654.

these weapons ought all presumption which doth advance itself against God to be overthrown and conquered. 'For all Scripture,' saith St. Paul, 'that cometh by the inspiration of God, is profitable,' &c. Thus did the Holy Fathers always fight against the heretics, with none other force than with the holy Scriptures."^b Harding understands these words in the usual "popular" sense of the rejection of all *authority* but Scripture, and refutes them accordingly. Nor, if we remember right, does Jewel complain of misrepresentation. If he appeals to the Fathers, it is more as a question of fact than of right; he wishes to show that they are with Protestants, and not with Catholics; but he does not admit them as judges or umpires between the two.

But, after all, religion is a practical, and not merely a speculative, institution; and we think that the doctrines of a Church may best be learned from what its pastors generally teach, and its followers generally believe. And on this view, we are satisfied, that the Church of England, as it exists at present, must be enumerated under the general head of Protestantism, and cannot be placed in a distinct class. But its article, which declares that "the Church hath authority in matters of faith." To it we oppose, *first*, the doubtfulness of its authenticity, or rather the strong probability of its spuriousness, whereof *we* are nearly convinced. *Secondly*, the latitude of interpretation which we have already seen permitted in the Church,

^b On the contrary, Professor Keble writes as follows:—"As often as Tertullian and Irenæus have false teachers to reprove, or unevangelical corruptions to expose, do they not refer to the traditions of the whole Church, as to something independent of the written word, and sufficient, at that time, to confute heresy, even alone? Do they not employ Church tradition as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it?"—Sermon, p. 23.

and which allows the ultra-Protestant principle of private judgment to be publicly taught by its authorized ministers. *Thirdly*, the difficulties of the system to which it leads, as explained by the *British Critic*—difficulties which will not allow dogmatical authority to be the principle of the Anglican Church.

II. This last objection forms, if our readers remember, the second head of our general animadversions upon the system presented by the periodical organ of the High Church party. Our first exception to it arises from its evident obscurity, in the mind of its expositor himself. Take the two following passages :—

“ Will he (Dr. W.) reply, that the Roman Church does *not* grant that it can decree things *contrary* to Scripture? True, but it claims to decree points of faith *beyond* Scripture. And this is the authority which we deny it.”—P. 378.

* * * * *

“ We consider that her [the Church’s] decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled, indeed, to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*. This distinction is made at the end of the twentieth Article :—‘ As it [the Church] ought not to *decree* anything against the same, so *besides* the same ought it not to *enforce* anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.’ The Church must not enforce beyond Scripture; *it may decree*, i.e., *pronounce beyond it, but not against it.*”—P. 379.

And yet in the same breath we have been told that this is the very authority which is denied to the Catholic Church. The writer would, perhaps, reply, that it is the *authority* which is denied to us, and is not claimed by the Anglican Church. But, to a simple, unsophisticated reader, such a distinction will hardly occur; and we confess that we read over the paragraph repeatedly, with the conviction, that its termination flatly contradicted its beginning. And even now it leaves upon our mind the conviction, that the writer has not very clear notions of what he should deny to

o o

the Catholic Church, and what he should claim for his own.

Nor is this perplexity imaginary. The Church may *decree*, but it may not *enforce*. What, if its decrees be disregarded? What, if men, as did the Presbyterians under Elizabeth and James, overlooking the distinction, pronounce that to be contrary to Scripture which the Church decrees as only beyond it? Must it stop short? Is it powerless in *enforcing* the observance of its injunctions? If so, then is that reasoning not unjust, of which the *Critic* so loudly complains, that "each one has to judge for himself, whether the Church be contradicting the express doctrines of Scripture; and that, consequently, each person is thus constituted judge over the decisions of his Church." Has the Church the right of enforcing upon the individuals? Then is the *Critic's* distinction futile and vain.

In fact, the idea of a Church, or any other governing authority, possessed of a power to *decree* more extensive than its power to *enforce*, is self-repugnant. It may *recommend* or exhort to an extent beyond its authority to put in execution, but it must not talk of enacting or *decreeing*.

This obscurity of the system may be further evinced from the heaviness of the commentary which overloads the simplicity of the text. The article, if genuine, simply says, that "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith." This is vague enough, heaven knows; and gives little scope for practical inferences, but abundant for theories. Professor Keble engrafts upon it all his doctrine of tradition, and the threefold order of truths to be derived from it, and the necessity of studying diligently the writings of the Fathers. The *British Critic* builds upon it a more massive

¹ Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, p. 80.

theory of the Anglican Church's referring "the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith to antiquity, giving authority to the Church, as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity amongst us" (p. 384). This "limitation," or rather amplification, of the article, is to be drawn from one of the canons of convocation (p. 379). Be it so; but the canon would have done well to tell us, when, where, and by whom this appeal to antiquity, or rather this summons of attention to its yet speaking voice, is to be made; the *Critic* might have shown us how the Church makes it at the present day, in order to the confutation and overthrow of those rampant errors which have long torn her in pieces.

For this we think a still weightier objection to the system, that it is theory, and nothing but theory. It has no life, no vigour, no active existence. We may weary our readers by insisting so often upon this idea; but it is one never to be lost sight of, in controversy with this party. The Church which they describe, and which they idolize, is imaginary, and exists only upon paper. Perhaps in its beginning it may have exhibited its vital powers, by stoutly combating, and, with the aid of the secular arm, repressing, the innovations of seceders from its pale; but long has it given proof that such a vigour was external and adventitious, depending upon the interest which the State felt in its exercise of influence. Since it has been left to itself, although within it and around it, through dissent and dissension, its Articles have been impugned, its discipline decried, its usefulness disputed, its ministrations contemned; no voice of authority has been raised within it, no outstretching of its arm has been witnessed; never once has it assumed that attribute of dignity, that imposing mien of command, which the

imagined depositary of an apostolic teaching, and an establishment of heaven-guided ministers, might be supposed entitled to assume.

Has it been so with the Catholic Church? Was Jansenism, not half so perilous or so pernicious as Arianism, allowed by wily arts to seduce the faithful, while no one spoke? On the contrary, although but little more than a century before the Church had lost a large portion of her dominion, through the unhappy Reformation, and she seemed ill able to afford another defection, she did not hesitate to trace out the hidden error, and cut away, with steady hand, the cancer which had stretched its subtle roots through a part of her otherwise healthy frame. It was an operation, indeed, more painful and more difficult than the previous cutting off of a useless and diseased limb; but she shrank not from the performance of her stern duty. Though the sectaries were anxious not to break communion with the Universal Church, though they successively retracted from plea to plea, the Holy See, supported by the bishops of the Catholic world, tore off every disguise under which they sought to lurk, and overthrew every pretence for resistance, till the evil was removed, and, without loss to the Church, clean destroyed. When attempts were made by Ricci and the Pistoians, to revive in Italy what had been foiled in France, Pius VI., by his noble constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, vindicated the dignity of the Apostolic See, and united the suffrages of the whole Church in their condemnation. And that condemnation was the destruction of the dangerous novelty.

Such are, indeed, practical and vigorous proofs, not merely of a system of authoritative teaching in the Church, but of its healthy action. And such was the method pursued in that antiquity, which we are told

yet raises its voice in the Anglican Church. For it was not then deemed sufficient to frame a symbol or code of articles, and then leave it to its fate, and pursue the detection and repression of error no further; but every new heresy was met by a new remedy, every poisonous invention led to the publication of a new antidote; and singly was each starting error beaten down, and in general effectually. Nay, the symbols of the Church were never mere "articles for the avoiding of diversities of opinion;" they were not acts for settling the basis of belief and government, but they were occasional exercises of authority called forth by the rise of new and unheard-of opinions. Even in the case of national churches, the same in a subordinate degree was their practice. The Donatists of Africa were energetically attacked and condemned, in the first instance, by the authoritative decisions of the Church in that country. If then Anglicanism holds the same principles, why does it not, as well as Catholicism, continue to act upon the same system? God knows that it cannot have been from want of opportunity or necessity. Authority is an active instrument; it requires exercise for its maintenance; it is as a bow, which, if for ages left unstrung, will snap whenever the attempt be made again to bend it. If the English Church have all along believed herself possessed of so rich a deposit as this apostolic power to teach, how will she answer for having folded it up in a napkin, and buried it so long in the earth? If not, whence has a new light burst upon her now, or upon some of her divines, and convinced them she has always possessed the treasure?

How comes it, too, that never in her Articles is allusion made to the manner of exercising this authority, or to the places or circumstances under which

the exercise should be made? We should rejoice, indeed, by way of experiment, to see such a trial made as the *Critic* somewhere proposes, of an Anglican national synod. We should like to see the Church condemn Calvinistic and semi-Arian principles, and deprive all ministers who teach them; endeavour to introduce the practices commended in the Oxford "Tracts for the Times," order such a reformation as would restore the cathedral service to its original forms, binding the wealthy canons to residence, and cutting down pluralities; then openly denounce, with the *Critic*, Wesley as "heresiarch," and consequently his followers as heretics, and boldly pronounce that anathema of the Church which the Review now mutters, against such as believe and profess not, in accordance with the Athanasian Creed. Let all this, we say, be done by a national council of the Anglican Church; and let its decrees be based upon "primitive tradition, as well as Scripture, and her authority claimed as a rightful inheritance ever held by her since apostolic times;" and then we shall indeed see, whether her own children will justify her wisdom, or whether the attempted blow will not be rather considered as the "*telum imbellis sine ictu*,"* of one who sinks in venerable dotage at the foot of his vanquished domestic altar.

But the practical inutility of this speculative system of authority is far from ending here. Whoever claims a right to control others, whether in judgment or in action, must offer at least some advantage in return. The Protestant has an obvious right to ask the ministers of the Anglican Church, "If I surrender my opinions and reasonings into your hands; if I abandon my conventicle, and embrace your formu-

* *Æneid* ii. 544.

laries of worship, what certainty have I gained that I am securer of the truth than I was before?" Now the answer, if honest and explicit, should, according to the principles of the *British Critic*, be as follows:—"The Anglican Church is a part of the true Church; she is a national independent branch thereof. She pretends not, however, even collectively, to immunity from error. For it is one of her articles, that 'as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred,' and as 'also the Church of Rome hath erred . . . in matters of faith,' so the Anglican, which pretends to no more infallibility than she allows to them, may err no less in matters of faith. But then this immense advantage will result from your joining the national Church, that though it, as a particular Church, may fail, and teach what is erroneous in faith, yet '*the whole Church all over the world* will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true.'"^m

Now, we ask any unprejudiced mind, whether this is not like toying with men's consciences and good sense at once? In fact, we have not gone far enough in the concessions of this imaginary, but consistent, answer. For, some Anglican divines hold the Church to be of a revolutionary character—not in the political, but in the scientific, sense of the word—movable, like the Jewish tabernacle, from one place to another; and England is allowed by them to have had her turn, and to be probably on the point of losing it. Thus writes Dr. Daubeny, though we cannot be sure that he is on the *Critic's* list of the orthodox, and whether we may not be charged, as Dr. Wiseman has been, with unfairness in presuming to quote him, as an authority in the Church, whose champion he stands forth.ⁿ

^l Art. xix.

^m *British Critic*, p. 380.

ⁿ Dr. Daubeny indeed attacks boldly the sin of schism in all who

“Though this Church, from the days of its first settlement, hath been passing from country to country, as the inhabitants of each became respectively unworthy of its longer continuance among them; yet for our comfort we are assured that the gates of hell shall not completely prevail against it. In one part of the world or another, it will be found to the end of time. How long it may be in the counsel of God to continue it in this country He only knows. But the present divided state of Christians, so much lamented by all sound members of the Church, together with that too general indifference for all religious opinions, which, under the fallacious term of *liberality of sentiment*, now prevails, holds out to us no very promising prospect.”^o Therefore, not only *may* the Anglican Church fail, but it is highly probable that it *will*. But what matters it to the individual, that the Church all over the world will not concur in teaching error, so long as in this circumstance he has no pledge that the particular branch of it, which he is called upon to join, is secure from failure? Or what claim can the latter establish, by the proof of this universal security, to a particular confidence? Could men be compelled as a solemn duty to carry their disputes before any given court of judicature, upon the ground that all

separate themselves from the law-established Church. But we find that in his concluding discourse, he is anxious that each one should be guided to it by the use of his individual judgment exercised upon the Bible, which he puts into his readers' hands, that, like the Bereans, they may search and examine. He is anxious not “to lead them blindfold; on the contrary, he is desirous that they should see for themselves, and see clearly.” (Guide to the Church, 1804, vol. i. p. 222.) This proves how little Anglican divines are any more aware than Dr. Wiseman, that their Church rejects the exercise of individual private judgment upon the Bible, as the guide in matters of faith.

^o Ibid. p. 159.

the courts throughout the world could not concur in an unjust decision ? It is *personal* security, his *own* safety, that each one is bound to seek, in matters of faith ; and to *exact* submission and obedience in judgment and deed, as a duty strictly binding where that equivalent professedly is not given, is not only tyrannical but contradictory.

The only way in which this duty of adhesion to an insecure Church, on the ground that the body, whereof it is a corruptible member, is itself incorruptible, can be justified, appears to be this : That the universal Church of Christ, being indefectible, every particular Church which *actually* forms a part of it must be considered safe ; and thus the communion with the fallible becomes a participation in the universal security of the infallible. Such we suppose to be the reasoning of the reviewer, when he insists upon the Anglican Church's being a branch of the Catholic or universal Church. But where is the proof that the Church of England is in communion with any other Churches in the world, except its own colonies, and perhaps the Episcopalians of North America ? It has no more to say to the Geeek, or Armenian, or Syriac, Church, than it has to the French or Italian. There is neither common belief nor common discipline to cement it into unity with them. There is no acknowledgment of communion, there is no interchange of friendly offices, there is no intercourse of epistolary communication. There is no sympathy in distress, no common joy in prosperity, no acquaintance with one another's state and feelings. Take, if it please you, Dr. Isaac Barrow's Utopian "Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church," and apply his enumeration of the duties of this unity, and see if from them it can possibly result that the Anglican Church is in posses-

sion of a single link connecting it with the rest of Christ's Church. "If anywhere any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it . . . especially the *pastors of the churches* are obliged with one consent to oppose it.

. . . Thus did the bishops of several churches meet to suppress the heresy of Pope [*Paul?*] Samosatenus. This was the ground of most synods."^p When has the Anglican Church joined any such confederacy with any other churches, for the suppression of error or infidelity?

"If any dissension or faction doth arise in any church, *other churches*, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it." Is there any church that would, under such circumstances, ask for aid from the Anglican, or accept its proffered assistance?

"All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity; in prayer, in *communion of the Eucharist*, &c. St. Polycarp being at Rome, did communicate with Pope Anicetus."^q Where is the *Episcopal* church which would admit an English Protestant bishop to officiate at the altar, or to participate in its Eucharist, knowing him to reject, as fond and superstitious, so much of its belief and practice?

"If dissension arise between divers churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the Church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria. If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office, to the common danger of truth and piety, his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and if he should not reform,

^p Barrow's Works, Tillotson's ed. vol. i. p. 766. ^q Page 767.

might deprive him of communion." Does the Anglican Church admit in "any neighbour bishops" this right of interference, or does she pretend to it herself, or has she ever thought of using it? Would she expose herself to the certain rebuff she would receive, upon endeavouring to interpose as a mediatrix, between any two foreign churches?

"In cases of doubt or difficulty one Church should have recourse to others for advice, and any Church should yield it." Is there any example, or any chance, of such confidence existing between the Anglican, and any other, Church?

Such are pretty nearly his proofs of unity between different establishments supposed to form collectively "the Catholic Church;"* and, therefore, did we call Dr. Barrow's treatise Utopian, because believing, as we suppose, his Church to be one of such establishments, he gravely proposes tests of her pretensions which can only exist in imagination, and must show her to have no pretensions to a real place in this universal community. The Dissenter, then,—for we must be allowed to smile when the *Critic* or Dr. Barrow has the simplicity to call *us* schismatics,—the Dissenter is solemnly urged, under grievous peril of his soul, to join the Anglican Church, not because she is safe from error, but because the entire Church is, of which she forms a part. And if he calls for proofs that she *is* a part of the Universal Church, characteristics are proposed to him, as criterions of her claim, not one of which exists in her; or rather the absence of which proves that she is *not* in communion with this Universal Church wherever it is to be found. The unsuc-

* Be it remembered, that the *Critic* approves of Dr. Barrow's conclusion drawn from this very treatise, that Catholics are to be considered as schismatics.—P. 434.

cessful tampering of old with the Greek Church, through Cyril Lucaris, will prove, to the scholar, that our commentary upon Dr. Barrow's text has good foundation.

But if a Dissenter, thus staggered, not to say shocked, at the boldness of the system which asked so much, and gave him in return so little, were desirous to look about him elsewhere for something of what is here described, he would not be long in discovering a Church, composed of many national churches, possessed individually of rights and liberties, and forming complete governing communities; but so cemented together in steadfast unity of faith and discipline, as to verify what Dr. Barrow has written of religious unity. In our Church, he would find in practice and in truth, what, spoken of the Anglican Church by one of her own divines, must sound as a cruel jest. The Churches of France, and Ireland, of Italy and South America, of Germany and Syria, of Spain and Poland, of Belgium and Cochin China, are in full enjoyment of almost every characteristic* of religious unity which we have transcribed; the subjects of anyone could communicate, the clergy could celebrate at the altar of any other among them. The pastors could meet as brethren, and sit at one council-board; they *do* consult one another in cases of difficulty; they assist and receive one another in distress, and sympathize with their respective sufferings.[†] But the sects or Churches

* We, of course, except such acts of high jurisdiction as *no* Church nowadays could pretend to in respect of another; such as the deposition of bishops in another country, &c. Such extraordinary power is only vested in the sovereign pontiff. But would the Anglican, under any circumstance, allow the American bishops to interfere in England to such an extent?

† A beautiful example of this truly Catholic feeling has lately taken place. Some of the new States of South America had, during their

that are not within this pale—and the Anglican is one—have and can have no participation in these advantages of communion with them, nor do they affect any among themselves. The Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Synod of Moscow, would be greatly astonished if the Convocation consulted them about the Thirty-nine Articles, or if his Grace of Canterbury, travelling in their parts, should ask to read the communion service in one of their churches.

But we are not sure that we should make the insecurity, of such as obey the Church of England's summons to join her, end here. For even this imaginary connection, which she cannot prove, with the Universal Church, ought, according to her principles, to be no guaranty. In her twenty-first article, she says, that "general councils," that is, assemblies of the bishops of the *whole* Church, "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God, *may err*, and sometimes *have erred*, even in things appertaining unto God." The *Critic*, indeed, says, that this article speaks only "historically of professed and pretended general councils." But, with due deference, we beg to dissent from this interpretation. For though the clause, "and *have erred*," may be only historically added, yet the

contest with their mother country, banished all Spaniards from their territories, not excepting clergymen. Since they have been freed from all alarm, they have zealously set about restoring their religious establishments, and particularly the regular orders. For this purpose, agents, with large sums at their disposal, have been sent to Italy, to procure members of these orders to cross the Atlantic. They have been instructed to give preference to Spaniards who have been ejected from their religious houses by the present Spanish Government. And whenever any of them have sought an asylum in the new States, they have been received with marked kindness and hospitality. Thus has the Catholic spirit triumphed over obstinate national prejudices.

definition that "they *may* err" is an enunciation of a belief or general principle, inasmuch as it is based upon the circumstance, that all the individuals composing a general council are not guided by the word and spirit of God. Now, as this will apply to every possible general council, as well as to any actual one since that of Jerusalem, we must conclude that the Church of England does not attribute security from error, even to the entire Church of Christ in council assembled. How much less then can union with her be an imperative duty, on the ground, that thereby the individual is secure through union with the Universal Church?

There is another inconsistency in this new scheme of Church authority. The Church in general is allowed to be indefectible, upon the strength of that text, in which our Saviour promises to be with His apostles to the end of the world (p. 395), and other similar passages. When He says, "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;" the consequence is, that the Church to which these words are addressed is at all times to be listened to, as the living voice of Christ; and thus it is indefectible. Yet, upon these very texts, the High Church party claim authority for the particular pastors of their Church, as legitimate successors of the apostles. But how shall these texts, addressed to one only body, be it what it may, confer two perfectly dissimilar things, on two distinct classes of persons; to wit, indefectibility to the collective, universal Church, and authority to each component part thereof? If the Anglican hierarchy lay claim to one of the gifts, they have as much right to the other. But this is not our present question. We ask on what ground are these texts thus made to cut two ways, to answer two

different purposes, without any warranty for the distinction in the texts themselves? Whatever Church is declared to be indefectible, is invested with authority and none other; and as the Anglican Church does not pretend to the one quality, it can have no claim to the other. If the indefectibility which is the consequence of Christ's teaching through the pastors, be not distributable among particular churches, how is it proved that authority in faith, which is that very teaching, is so distributable? But if the two reside united in the same body, as in consistency they ought, then we say the result is INFALLIBILITY. For indefectibility secures the existence of *objective* truth in the Church at all times; and authority to teach, in conjunction, secures *subjective* truth. In other words, the latter obliges each individual to believe whatever it teaches, while the former assures him that it can never fall into error.

In fact, infallibility is the active manifestation of indefectibility through authority. Where the fund of wisdom and truth is imperishable and incorruptible, its outward communication must be so too. If the Church is to be heard because Christ teaches in it, the Church is *infallible*,—even as Christ is. All this is in exact harmony with Catholic truth. In this there is no disjunction of what God hath ordained; no drawing of authority for individual churches, and of indefectibility for the Universal Church, from one indivisible text. Both, indeed, are proved; but both in favour of one—of the Catholic Universal Church: and with these the natural result of the two conjoined—*dogmatical infallibility*. In their pastors, the flock recognize the connecting link between them and this great community; they are ruled and taught by them, in strict harmonious unity with the entire Church.

But the Anglican Church can show, as we have

already observed, no connection with any other Church, to prove that it forms a part of any larger religious communion. Either she alone is the Universal Catholic Church, or she is out of its pale. If the first, she should claim indefectibility; if the second, she must renounce authority.

By way of conclusion, let us transfer the inquiry to another country. We were at first inclined to choose Ireland or Italy; but particular exceptions might be taken against both these points of comparison; therefore, we will place the controversy in France. The French Church has a hierarchy, less interrupted in apostolic succession, than the Anglican can possibly pretend to be. The bishops of Gaul may be traced to the second century, or even to the immediate disciples of the apostles; whereas the Anglicans do not pretend to trace their succession further back than the Roman mission under St. Gregory the Great. The succession too in France has no awkward passage to explain in its history, such as the turning out of all the bishops by civil persecution, and tacking to the succession a new set, who pretended to inherit the sees, while they rejected the religion, of those before them. But putting aside all these odious comparisons, we will only assume, that the Church of France has as good a right at least to claim apostolic succession, with all its prerogatives of authority and obedience, as the Church of England. We ask, therefore, are not the French Protestants chargeable with schism, since they "separate themselves from the Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops?" (p. 435). Are they not "bound," as much as, according to the *Critic*, the English Catholics are, "to unite themselves to the French Church?" (p. 434).

^u The *Critic*, p. 434, applies to the Irish and English Catholics

It will not be said that the French Church does not maintain its independence as a national Church, or that by its submission to the supremacy of the Holy See, she has forfeited her rights over separatists within her dominions. For Barrow expressly writes: "Yet those churches, which by voluntary consent or command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman Church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from the communion of charity or peace; for in that they do but use their liberty."^x Now the French Church is not bound certainly by any compulsion to the Roman See; and, therefore, the French Protestants cannot refuse it obedience on this score. But then, perhaps, the French Church "maintains impious errors," or "prescribes naughty practices,"—which the learned doctor adds as a sufficient reason for treating a Church as "heretical or schismatical." And who is to pronounce this judgment for the French Protestant? He himself individually? Then we have private judgment set up against, and above, the decision of the national Church: and thus is the Dissenter's plea made good against the Anglican Church. The body of Christians to which he is attached? Then must similar bodies in England have the same right; and Catholics cannot be schismatics who use this right, and proclaim the Anglican Church to teach "impious errors," and therefore to be itself "heretical and schismatical." Some foreign Church, as the Anglican? Then may the English Catholic be equally guided by the decisions of far more numerous foreign churches. And, moreover, according what Barrow says only of the English. The question of the Irish Catholics is more intimately connected with that of the Anglican Episcopacy, and therefore must not be lightly touched on here.

^x Ubi supra, p. 783.

to the theory of independent national churches, each has a right to command full obedience from its own immediate subjects, free from foreign control. But, says the *Critic*, "The Romish Church *generally* is regarded as schismatical in acting as terms of communion and articles of faith, doctrines which are of uncertain authority" (p. 435). By whom is it so generally regarded? *By the Anglican Church!* And is this then an infallible Church, which has a right to set up its decision against the combined decisions of so many other certainly *no less* apostolic churches, which concur in not considering those articles as of uncertain authority, and in condemning the Anglican as heretical? Or are Protestants in Catholic countries bound to recognize in her an authority to rule their belief, against the decisions of the hierarchy in them, while the Catholics or Dissenters in England have no similar resource in any other country? If so, the Anglican Church comes within the gripe of Barrow's conclusion,—that if churches be "turbulent and violent, trying by all means to *subdue and enslave other churches* to their will or their dictates; in such cases we may reject such churches as heretical and schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings."

One of two things. Either it must be left to the individual to decide whether a church proposes or not "doctrines of uncertain authority," and then his private reason is constituted superior to the Church, and a judge over her decision; or else the decision of any foreign Episcopal Church has as much right to control the individual judgment of each person, and then Protestants in Catholic countries are acknowledged to be heretics. In the first supposition, Dissenters are not heretics nor schismatics with regard to the Established

Church; in the second, the French Protestants are bound to subscribe to their belief in Purgatory and Transubstantiation, which the Anglican Articles condemn. In either, the writer in the *Critic* has, we imagine, a hard alternative. To use his own words, "we differ from him in logic, as much as in divinity" (p. 397).

Let us place the question under another aspect. These High Church divines say, that their Church draws its explanations of Scripture from antiquity, of which it is the witness and depositary. It builds therefore upon this testimony its belief in the Eucharist, and its interpretation of the words employed by our Lord in its institution. But the Catholic Church, that is, the union of many other churches, appeals to precisely the same authority and test, for *its* interpretation and belief. This is not a question of first principles, as whether anything is to be enforced or not which is not clearly proved from Scripture: it is a matter of application of a rule equally admitted. The Zwinglian maintains the Eucharist to be a naked symbol, a merely commemorative rite. The Catholic and the Anglican contradict him; the former says that tradition has ever taught in his Church, a real and corporeal presence of Christ in that sacrament; the Anglican that his Church has learned from the same source to believe in a *real* but not a *corporeal* presence. Who is to decide between the two? Is it the duty of the individual to unravel the mystery for himself, and trace out the testimony of tradition through the first ages? Then private judgment again comes in, and again is exalted as the umpire between conflicting churches! Shall the Anglican Church have the preference? But she renounces all claim to infallibility. And what other plea can she urge, which shall not assume her being the only true Church, and her

principle of faith being the only correct one,—which is the very matter of inquiry?

The fact is, that there is no middle point between private judgment and the infallible authority of a living Church, which, being universal, can command particular churches as well as individuals. We would willingly exclude the name of Mr. Blanco White from our pages; but he seems to us at this moment to be a “sign,” though not a “wonder,”—a monumental record of this principle, practically illustrated in his double apostasy. He seems to us to have satisfactorily demonstrated, that on the march from Catholicity to Socinianism, and the unlimited use of private judgment, the Church of England presents no resting-place. It may indeed be passed through on the road, and its curious imitations of the place just left may detain the wanderer’s and outcast’s attention for a brief space, as it did Mr. White’s; but on he must go, if he be borne forward by a consistent principle, till he reach the other extreme.⁷

Many observations which have come before our minds we have been compelled to omit, for really there is no end to the incoherences and impracticabilities of the High Church scheme. It presents one inextricable confusion of rights belonging to the Universal Church with those of particular parts or national establishments. The Church is ever spoken of as indefectible—as the depositary of truth—the voice of antiquity—and all this is said of the Universal Church. But when we come to the deference due to it in consequence of these prerogatives, by a process of logical jugglery, the Anglican contrives to step in, to receive it as its right. If these divines

⁷ See his “Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy,” p. 7.

would keep the two distinct in their argument, they would find it miserably lame.

We were not a little surprised to see the popular mis-statement repeated in the *Critic's* pages, that Catholics believe their Church empowered to *create* articles of faith (p. 383). They claim for her no more authority than she exercised in the early ages, that of defining what had been believed within her from the beginning, and thus *declaring* articles of faith. The symbols of the ancient councils, as we have before observed, were only framed against heresies as they arose; and certain points were thus defined and proposed, for the first time, in clear formal terms, to the acceptance of the faithful. Other matters, such as the Eucharist, grace, justification, were omitted, because on them there was no error. Had any existed, the doctrine regarding them would have been as clearly laid down. And there can be no doubt but that a new obligation would thus have fallen upon all Christians, to believe definitively with the Church, on points whereon, before the definition, they could not be so well instructed, nor so accurately know the faith of the Church dispersed. Hence it is not an uncommon remark of judicious and primitive writers, that the Fathers spoke more loosely upon certain subjects before they had been clearly defined by the Church. If this declaration of matters, ever believed, but not before defined, be called a *creation* of new articles, we have no objection to the *Critic's* phrase. But if by this term is signified that, according to Catholics, their Church may propose that to be believed, which before was not believed, it is a gross inaccuracy to apply it to us.

In fact, we believe the Church, in regard to her authority, to have no past and no future. She is

always one; and whatever she had ever a right to do after the Apostles' time, she has a right to do at present. When the *Critic*, or Mr. Keble, sends us back to antiquity as the rule of faith, joined to Scripture, and thereby means the doctrine of the three or four first centuries, we beg to remind him, that these times were once *the present* of the Church. The faithful of those days did not, could not, look to "antiquity," which then was not, but to the *living* church. What was their rule of faith is ours; three hundred years, or eighteen hundred, from the time of Christ, cannot make a difference in a principle; it was nowhere appointed, or decreed, or foretold that for so many centuries the *existing* Church should teach, and that, after that time, she should lose her guaranty, and be only the witness to antiquity. Yet so much must the *Critic* pretend by boasting that the Catholic "gives to the existing Church the ultimate infallible decisions in matters of saving faith . . . and the Anglican to antiquity, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice . . . of antiquity." What that antiquity held, we hold, for *it* could not acknowledge any authority but the *existing* Church.

Moreover, the High Church principle only removes the difficulties of Protestantism, or as these divines prefer calling it, of *ultra-Protestantism*, another step; but it does not obviate them completely. Antiquity, as deposited in the writings of the early ages, is a dead letter as much as the Bible: it requires a living interpreter, no less. It has its obscurities, its perplexities, its apparent contradictions as much; it requires a guide equally to conduct us through its mazes. It cannot step in and decide between conflicting opinions and rival claims; it can, at most, be a code which requires a judge to apply it. It is more voluminous,

more complex, more uncompact than Scripture; it needs more some methodizing and harmonizing, authoritative, expounder. If national churches can separately fulfil these offices, and sufficiently discharge these duties, they surely ought not to come to contradictory conclusions. Yet the Anglican stands in stark opposition to every other Episcopal Church throughout the world; its own daughter in America perhaps excepted.

And yet, narrow as are the limits of this Church, its principle of faith has not secured to it the blessing which should be its destined result,—a steadfast unity of belief among its members. We speak not merely of the prevalence of dissent, but of the vast differences which the controversies, treated of in this article, have shown to exist between the members of the Anglican Church. The *British Critic* proposes a synod of that Church, as the best means of settling its present difficulties. Once more we say; let it be called, and we shall see how the Kebles and the Russells, the Newmans and the Arnolds, the Puseys and the Bickersteths, will agree in defining the first principle of faith, the ground on which all other controversies should be decided.

At the same time, comprehensive, nay, vast as is the pale of Catholicity, and embracing, as it does, every zone, and every quarter of the globe, let a council be called of its pastors, and you would see how differently *its* rule has attained the end of its existence, in the universal harmony it has produced in belief and practice. There you might interrogate a bishop from New Spain, or a vicar-apostolic from Sweden, a professor of the Sorbonne, or a country curate from the Abruzzi; you might consult the catechism taught to the child in Ireland, or to the native convert in the

Philippine Islands, without discovering any wavering or hesitation on the question of church authority, or on any doctrine by it defined.

And by this comparison, it may be seen how in the Catholic Church the manifestation of the Son of Man, and the living Word of the Father, is, "as the lightning which cometh out of the east, and shineth even into the west," one single, indivisible and unsearchable blaze of light, pervading the entire heaven of human intelligence, from hemisphere to hemisphere. But if, on the one hand, when we are told, "Lo! He is in the desert," in camp-meetings, and field-preachings, and revivals, amidst the mad exuberance of ultra-Protestant zeal, "we go not forth;" so, on the other, we hope to be pardoned if, on being modestly assured that "He is in the secret chambers" of one or two colleges in Oxford, where alone His doctrines may be had in their purity, "we believe it not."

There is one point on which we fully agree with the *Critic*, and as it forms the beginning of his article, so it shall form the conclusion of ours. In common with many recent writers, he is of opinion that the controversies between our two Churches are only now fairly commencing. He thinks justly, that hitherto we have been assailed "rather by the power of the civil sword than by the arguments of divines" (p. 374). The privilege of even attacking has been till now all on the other side, and we have been condemned, as a caste, to the ignobler labours of apology and defence. The staff of the oppressor hath now, however, been broken, we stand upon more equal ground, and it is our own fault if we follow not up our advantages. If the battle, of reason, we mean, and argument, has now to be fought, we, at least, will not steal away from the

* Matt. xxiv. 24, 26.

field; our habits and feelings would suggest another course, and prompt us, like Tasso's shepherd, to seek seclusion from the war, in the humbler task of our own improvement, or of mere domestic duties. But there are times when every citizen is a soldier, in the spiritual as in civil welfare; and a crisis like this is one. The course which we shall pursue shall be consistent and persevering. We seek not the wealth of our Anglican neighbours, nor their establishment, nor their political power, nor their usurped influence. All these things we esteem as dross. But we covet their brotherhood in the faith, and their participation in our security of belief, and their being bound to us in cords of love, through religious unity. For these things, we will contend, unceasingly, and to the utmost of our power; and GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT!

CHRISTIAN ART.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for June, 1847.

CHRISTIAN ART.

ART. X.—1. *Sketches of the History of Christian Art.* By LORD LINDSAY. 3 vols. Murray, 1847.

2. *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1847.* (Catalogue.)

THE pages of our Review have been more than once devoted to the subject of Christian art. Both directly and indirectly, we have sought to excite an interest in it, and to explain its principles. And we have many reasons for believing that we have not laboured in vain. We do not pretend to have produced a painting by anything that we may have written, nor even perhaps to have laid down a single new principle. But, debarred as Englishmen have been from acquaintance with an art essentially religious, and from the power of contemplating its results—unconscious as English Catholics necessarily were of the artistic power of principles and doctrines, rites and practices of their Church, from not having witnessed their fruits—the first step towards creating a school of English religious art, naturally was to bring before the mind such general information on the subject as would excite curiosity, and such more definite views as would give rise to hopes at least, and even to endeavours.

Besides, therefore, articles devoted expressly to this matter, we have never failed to embrace any opportunity that presented itself, of pointing out the beauties and artistic elements of the Catholic ceremonial, as well as the poetry of our ritual, and forms of prayer,

all eminently conducive to the creation of religious art. Many considerations have now brought us to the conclusion, that the time is at length come for practice rather than theory; and that we must earnestly think of embodying in actual representation those forms of beauty, which we have till now contemplated as either reflections of past realities, or as shadows of possible futurities. If it has been given to this Review to lead forward the Catholic mind to higher and better views, upon the more *æsthetic* parts of ecclesiastical and religious institutions; if its mission had been in the past to open brighter prospects, which have not been disappointed; if it has successfully seconded and promoted the ecclesiological movement, such as it has been amongst us, and the theological movement which has been without, we feel that it is only fulfilling a portion of its duty as an exponent of Catholic feeling and Catholic truth, by turning the minds of our fellow Catholics to a more practical realization of what till now have been but hopes, of the foundation of a religious school of design and art in England.

We have uniformly observed, that in our age as in every other, indefinite instincts precede clear indications of great beneficial changes; there is a silent yearning, a consciousness of want, before active measures are even thought of; a discontent of the past and actual state of things, before plans are gone into for the future. We could illustrate this course of things in various ways, having reference to the religious occurrences of the last few years. But in regard to religious art, we think the manifestations of desire for better things are very clear, and sufficiently strong to make us think of how they may be attained.

First, there has been more knowledge obtained and diffused among the people in general, and among

Catholics in particular, on the existence, and perhaps the characteristics, of Christian art. Many have become acquainted with them by travelling, and more works have been lately written on the subject. The one before us is a remarkable one, not as a popular, but as a very learned and diligent, and often even eloquent, book, though far from Catholic. But we will reserve our remarks on it to a later portion of our article. At present we will content ourselves with remarking, that the names of Christian artists, dead and living, have become much more familiar to us than they used to be. Catholics, even the less learned in such things, would know, if they were told of a painting of the Blessed Angelico or Overbeck, that there would be necessarily a religious tone and character in it, such as they would never expect to find in one by West or Sir Joshua Reynolds.

But secondly, our taste has as much to do in the matter as our knowledge. We have learnt what *is* a religious tone and character. A few years ago, specimens of art, worthy of the name, were not within our reach. A few costly engravings of older masters might indeed be found in the portfolios of rich *connoisseurs*, from which the character of Christian artists might be studied; but nothing could be more paltry, more degrading to their subjects, than the majority of prints furnished by France, or by our own country, to the bulk of our people. Wretched in design as in execution, devoid of all feeling, of all expression, of all mere beauty even, they were calculated only to give the idea that religious representations stood below, rather than above, every other department of art. Tawdrily-coloured prints, ill-defined mezzotintos, or rude etchings of meanly-imagined figures, formed the staple of decorations for the room, or of illustrations

for the prayer-book. Neither devotion nor even a pious thought could be inspired by such abortions of art. By degrees, however, engravings of a superior style have found their way from France and Germany. The Academy of Düsseldorf has become the regenerator of religious taste all over Europe. The beautiful designs of Overbeck, Deger, the two Müllers, and other artists, have been exquisitely engraved by Keller and his school; and, through the modern machinery of an association, have been scattered on every side at the lowest price; a price which would bring them within the reach of the poorest peasant in this country, but for the barbarous duty, which is fully equal to the cost of the print.* The importation of these admirable specimens of religious art, has led to a successful imitation, or rather copying, both of their subjects and style, in England. Mr. Dolman reproduced Curmer's designs from Overbeck (which, though published in Paris, were executed at Düsseldorf), with great success; and most of the Düsseldorf Society's series has been re-engraved at Derby, and published by Messrs. Richardson, with their usual spirit.

The effect of these publications has been very important; they have, as we have observed, brought home to the eyes and feelings of Catholics of every rank, specimens of real Christian art. Few, perhaps, can judge of the accuracy of the design, or the delicacy of the engraving; but everyone can *feel* the accordance between the expression and ideas and sentiments,

* While on every other article subject to duty, 10 per cent. is the average rate of duty, on prints it still continues to be a penny each. This is a trifle upon large and expensive engravings, but on the Düsseldorf prints, which cost only one penny, it amounts to 100 per cent. Having imported a large number, chiefly for distribution among the poor, we had to pay £25 for duty, and appealed, in vain, to the inexorable Vandalism of financial officials.

which his heart tells him are good and holy. Instead of the vague stare of a figure, which, but for a pair of keys or a sword in its hand, might as well represent Pontius Pilate as an apostle, one now expects dignity of attitude, nobleness of features, holiness of expression, majesty of action. Instead of the unmeaning beauty of feature (if even this) by which the best attempts at a *Madonna* were characterized, no one is satisfied without an approach at least to the sweetness, the grace, the purity, and the queenly grandeur, that befit the Virgin-Mother of God. In like manner we now desire and expect to see, in the representation of sacred histories, the simplicity of action, naturalness of arrangement, and power of expression, which enables the eye to read them, and the feelings to apprehend them—the truest test of real religious art. We are alive to that holy, calm, and quiet beauty which pervades the compositions of the older Italian, and modern German, masters, where one can almost divine what each person is saying and thinking, as well as one can see what he is doing.

It may be said that all these observations apply only to Catholics, and afford no indication of a similar taste springing up in the country in general. Perhaps not; although at the same time we sincerely believe that symptoms of it are appearing among the people in general. We shall have more to say presently on the subject. But, first, we are anxious to express our opinion on some matters connected with our topic; premising that we are most anxious to avoid every cause of offence. We must observe, therefore, that we are writing entirely about the arts of design, and principally on painting and drawing, though many of our observations will apply likewise to sculpture and carving. We say, then, that the taste and feeling for

E E

Christian art, to which we have alluded, must not be confounded with the architectural movement, which, however valuable in itself, goes upon different principles, and, in some respects, may be considered as discouraging of what we wish to see revived in art. The *tendency* of architectural movements is to return to given models, and to reproduce, as nearly as possible, the works of other times. This is the case with every sort of architecture. If a man revive Egyptian patterns, he must needs introduce sphinxes and hieroglyphics, though they are worse than absolute nonsense; and the restorers of Grecian architecture give us most punctually the wreathed skulls of victims, the pateræ, and other heathen symbols, devoid of meaning, and of beauty too, when out of place. The better ecclesiological movement which has taken place in England (most happily, we own) has a similar, though better-directed tendency to reproduce the rudenesses, and even deformities, of past ages. It so happened, by a very obvious process, that the various branches of what are called the fine arts did not develop equally in any country; that while architecture, for instance, in England and France had reached its prime of matchless beauty, drawing and painting were not equally advanced: hence, splendid canopies overshadow but indifferent figures, and the few remains which we have of painting generally present but inferior specimens of conception or design. Unfortunately, in copying, as they deserve, the architectural monuments of our forefathers, we have taken to admire, and even to copy, their very unequal embellishments in the way of sculpture and drawing.

But this is not even the worst: we have almost canonized defects, and sanctified monstrosities. What was the result of ignorance or unskilfulness, we attri-

bute to some mysterious influence, or deep design. A few terms give sanction and authority to any outrageousness in form, anatomy, or position; to stiffness, hardness, meagreness, unexpressiveness—nay, to impossibilities in the present structure of the human frame. Feet twisted round, fingers in wrong order on the hand, heads inverted on their shoulders, distorted features, squinting eyes, grotesque postures, bodies stretched out as if taken from the rack, enormously elongated extremities, grimness of features, fierceness of expression, and an atrocious contradiction to the anatomical structure of man—where this is displayed, are not only allowed to pass current, but are published in the transactions of societies, are copied into stained glass, images, and prints, and are called “mystical,” or “symbolical,” or “conventional” forms and representations. And this is enough to get things praised and admired, which can barely be tolerated by allowance for the rudeness of their own age. We have seen representations of saints such as we honestly declare we should be sorry to meet in flesh and blood, with the reality of their emblematic sword or club about them, on the highway at evening. And because these were the productions of an *age* eminently Catholic, they are considered as the types of an *art* equally so. But religious art does not look at time, but at nature, which changes not, and at religion which is equally immutable. To make rude carvings, because the building on which they are placed is Norman, or to make a stiff design because the glass is framed in Early English tracery, may be all quite characteristic, but it is not artistic. The object of all art is to speak to the eye, and, through it, to the feelings; and the object of religious art is consequently to excite, through the sight, religious emotions adequate to the subjects or

persons represented. It is not intended that the spectator should have to say, "How well the Norman style is carried out even in the carvings!" or, "How admirably the glass of Edward the Fourth's time has been imitated!" or, "One could really fancy that crucifixion to have been painted in the thirteenth century!" but it is to be desired and aimed at, that the beholder, antiquarian or simple, scholar or peasant, should at once feel himself penetrated with a sense of the beautifully holy, be enamoured of the virtues which beam from the face, and seem to clothe the form of the figure before him; that from earthly comeliness his thoughts should rise to the contemplation of heavenly charms; that he should at once weep or exult, be humbled or gain confidence, as he gazes—not to study or criticize, but to feel.

While, therefore, we will join to the full pitch of our voice in the cry of condemnation that has been raised against all that is frivolous, trumpery, and trivial in sacred art; while we utterly anathematize all representations of the Immaculate Mother in modern Parisian fashions, and of angels in the attitudes of a posture-master, we are not prepared to admire a figure of the former merely because enveloped in a diapered mantle, nor of the latter simply because he wears a cope. We want more than these accessories, however valuable; we want truth, according to our noblest conceptions. The devout mind loves to contemplate the Incarnate Glory of heaven as the type of dignified and hallowed beauty—as the "*speciosus forma præ filiis hominum*," figuring in Himself all that humanity could ever contain of outward comeliness as expressive of inward perfection. He was a man—"in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo"—and therefore he is to be represented with features, limbs, bones, muscles,

and sinews like those of other men. But whether as an infant, or as a youth, or as grown to full manhood—at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem, or Calvary—His effigy must be to the eye (so far as art can portray it) what loving thought of Him is to the soul, the combination of all that is nobly beautiful. Even in the agonies of death, even extended on the cross, the eye of faith, and consequently the eye of Christian art, cannot contemplate Him otherwise. We are repulsed, therefore, rather than attracted, by those mediæval representations of Him, which place before us a body painfully extenuated, with ill-proportioned or distorted limbs, and with a haggard, if not an ill-favoured countenance; nor are we gained to admiration by being told, that such an effigy is more mystical or symbolical. For we cannot see how mysticism should require that which is supremely fair to be set forth as ugly, nor how external disproportion or uncomeliness should be the rightful symbol of what is infinite perfection,—

“Quæcumque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.”

And in like manner, we have no toleration for any intended likeness of His Virgin Mother which exhibits her other than as the “*tota pulchra Maria*” of the Church’s song. Sweet, graceful, maidenly in countenance and carriage we wish to see her ever represented; full of peace, benignity, and cheering joy, whether smiling on her own infant or on us; blending the Mother and the Virgin only by the tempering with majesty of the unfading bloom of celestial charms.

Strange indeed, it may seem, that while the mental type of this unparalleled being should have been so clearly, so sublimely brought out by a Bernard, its

artistic type should have been locked up in the hard and dark delineations of the Byzantine school, waiting as it were for a germ of life to bring them into the warm and bright existence of the Christian school. But this only proves what we have before remarked, that the various arts developed at different periods, and thus the poetry of religion opened into blossom before its painting.

What we have already written may suffice to explain our conviction, that if a Catholic school of art has to be raised in England, it must not only be independent of the architectural school which has been formed, but must rest on principles totally different from those on which this is based. First, it must not set out with the idea of mere reproduction, or of copying older masters, or of having a warrant and authority for everything it does. In other words, a school of Christian art, to succeed, must not be an antiquarian establishment. It must start on the principle that it is essentially a creative art, that it must invent as well as the old masters did, that it must study them and cull out their excellencies, but must not servilely copy them : it may imitate, but not transcribe. Hence we must have no Saxon, or Mediæval, or Gothic, or Cinquecento styles, but a pure Christian style, wherever and whenever it has to be used.

Secondly, the work must begin from the beginning. Till now, we have taken an old brass, or an old window,^b or an old statue ; we have rubbed the one, traced the other, and pressed or moulded the third ;

^b We must gratefully acknowledge, however, that a great improvement has been visible of late in the stained glass, in respect to accurate drawing, breadth, and expression, especially in that designed by Mr. Pugin, and executed by Mr. Hardman, of Birmingham. Still much remains to be done.

and have got artists that could copy exactly. But this is not art. We can thus indeed create clever workmen, and accurate imitators; but we give them no principles, and they can never materially get beyond what they find. The study of Christian art must begin where every other branch begins,—by accurate drawing, by studies from nature, and then by studying and copying the best models, chastening and purifying as it proceeds, the mere animal forms and traits, and drawing out, and learning to embody, those characters, expressions, and feelings, which belong to religion as distinct from nature, and to the inward, rather than to the outward, life.

Now this last can only be done by three different means combined. The first is the study, to which we have already alluded, of the great Catholic masters of every country, particularly of Italy. The second is the use of proper models. Academical models will do well enough for anatomy and attitude; and a lay figure will answer for hanging on drapery; but the living characteristics of Christian art, expression not merely of features, but of form, must be sought among those whose lives exhibit the practice, and consequently whose exterior presents the type, of the virtues to be represented. For, as was intimated above, truth must be the aim of art; and, thank God, in the Catholic Church the type of art is not ideal, in a strict sense, but real. The older artists may have elevated and purified the models which they used, but they nevertheless did not invent them. They found them in the Church, and they formed their style upon them; and in the same place the Catholic artist must look for the same guidance. He will still find his St. Brunos, as Zurbeyran did, among his disciples the Carthusians, and his St. Bernards among the Cister-

cians; and he will be surprised to see again and again, before and round the altar, the attitudes, the arrangements, and even the countenances and bearing of figures and groups, which have appeared to him masterly inventions, when seen in the old masters.

But the third means, and the principal one, by which anyone can hope to attain the true principles and practice of religious art, is meditation and devout study of its objects, joined to holiness of life, and the attempt, at least, to realize in himself the character that he wishes to depict. Without this, all other efforts are vain. We wish the full extent of the cost to be known by those who may be gloriously bold enough to bid for this crown. We may easily have a school of religious naturalists, such as interrupted the succession of great artists in Italy, and such as France now has; men who, by combining natural beauty with studied attitude, have fancied, if they thought at all about it, that they were painting saints. Such men may call themselves religious and Catholic artists, but they will never accomplish anything worthy of the name: they will be cold, insipid, and eventually mannered. We have been struck with the character and even appearance of the modern Catholic artists of Germany: no one can know them without seeing at once that they believe in all that they express, that their hearts go with their hands in their work, that they are impressed with the feeling that what they are doing is a holy thing. It would be invidious, and hardly delicate, to mention names: but let anyone make the acquaintance of the principal Catholic painters at Rome; or let any lover of the arts, who is making the usual trip of the Rhine, stop to visit the splendid church built by Count Fürstenberg at Apollinarisberg, near Bonn, and converse with the Düssel-

dorf academicians engaged on its beautiful frescoes, and we are sure he will be satisfied, that the work which he admires is the fruit of sincere faith and religious meditation.

But if the artist look back for his models among the great religious painters of the Middle Ages, he will find, not mere piety, but absolute sanctity become the guarantee of success in its perfection. The connection between the two—between perfection in virtue (where abilities are not deficient) and perfection in Christian art—becomes demonstrated, as well as exhibited, in the Blessed Giovanni, or, as he is oftener called, Angelico da Fiesoli. We will quote his character as given by Vasari, whose own style, life, and disposition, were diametrically opposite to his.

“ He was simple, and most holy in his manners,—and let this serve for token of his simplicity, that Pope Nicholas one morning offering him refreshment, he scrupled to eat flesh without the license of his superior, forgetful for the moment of the dispensing authority of the pontiff. He shunned altogether the commerce of the world, and living in holiness and in purity, was as loving towards the poor on earth as I think his soul must now be in heaven. He worked incessantly at his art, nor would he ever paint other than sacred subjects. He might have been rich, but cared not to be so, saying that true riches consisted rather in being content with little. He might have ruled over many, but willed it not, saying there was less trouble and hazard of sin in obeying others. Dignity and authority were within his grasp, but he disregarded them, affirming that he sought no other advancement than to escape Hell and draw near to Paradise. He was most meek and temperate, and by a chaste life loosened himself from the snares of the world, oft-times saying that the student of painting had need of quiet and to live without anxiety, and that the dealer in the things of Christ ought to dwell habitually with Christ. Never was he seen in anger with the brethren, which appears to me a thing most marvellous, and all but incredible; his admonitions to his friends were simple, and always softened by a smile. Whoever sought to employ him, he answered with the utmost courtesy, that he would do his part willingly so the prior were content. In sum, this never sufficiently to be lauded father was most humble and modest in

all his words and deeds, and in his paintings graceful and devout, and the saints which he painted have more of the air and aspect of saints than those of any other artist. He was wont never to retouch or amend any of his paintings, but left them always as they had come from his hand at first; believing, as he said, that such was the will of God. Some say that he never took up his pencils without previous prayer. He never painted a crucifix without tears bathing his cheeks; and throughout his works, in the countenance and attitude of all his figures, the correspondent impress of his sincere and exalted appreciation of the Christian religion is recognizable. Such," adds Vasari, "was this very angelic father, who spent the whole of his time in the service of God and in doing good to the world and to his neighbour. And truly a gift [virtù] like his could not descend on any but a man of most saintly life; for a painter must be holy himself before he can depict holiness."—Pp. 195-6-7.

We have given this character by Vasari from Lord Lindsay's work; and we are sure we shall further illustrate our subject by another extract, in which the noble author describes the results of the saintly character, as exhibited on the artist's canvas. The following is his description of B. Angelico's chief excellence:—

"Expression, accordingly—the special exponent of Spirit, as Form is of Intellect, and Colour of Sense—is the peculiar prerogative of Fra Angelico. Ecstasy and enthusiasm were his native element, and the emotions of his heart animated his pencil with a tenderness and repose, a love and a peace in which no one has yet excelled or even equalled him. These are the unvarying characteristics of the Madonna in his paintings. The true theory of her likeness presumes her outward form to have been so exquisitely moulded and etherealized by inward purity and habitual converse with heaven, that Gabriel might have known her among mankind by her face alone, had he been in search of her, with no other token. Subsequently to the Nativity, the mother's love must be supposed to blend with the innocence of the Virgin, and a beauty to result from the union, combining the holiness and purity of both estates, as inconceivable as that union itself was supernatural. Hence, evidently, an ideal for the artist's imagination, impossible of attainment, but which he will ever seek after, whether by spiritualizing the lineaments of her most dear to him, or by appropriating and reanimating some one of the many ancient portraiture of the Virgin,—for there is no one fixed traditional

resemblance, as of our Saviour. Every great painter, accordingly, has his distinctive type, born (for the most part) of his domestic affections—daughters of loveliness are they, sweet as the rose, pure as the dew, capable of the holiest and loftiest of thoughts, but in almost every instance marked with an individuality which distresses the imagination, while the absence of that individuality as invariably infers vagueness and insipidity. Now the peculiarity and merit (as it appears to me) of Fra Angelico is, that his Virgins are neither vague nor individual—even while doing nothing, they breathe of heaven in their repose—they are visible incarnations of the beauty of holiness, and yet not mere abstractions—they are most emphatically feminine—the ideal of womanhood as the chosen temple of the Trinity; they are to the Madonnas of other painters what Eve may be supposed to have been to her daughters before the Fall—their lineaments seem to include all other likenesses, to assume to each several votary the semblance he loves most to gaze upon. It was because Fra Angelico's whole life was love—diverted by his vow of celibacy from any specific object, that his imagination thus sought for and found inspiration in heaven. Next to the Madonna, I may mention the heads of our Saviour, of the apostles and saints in Fra Angelico's pictures, as excelling in expression and beauty, as well as those of the elect, in his representations of the Last Judgment; his delineations of the worldly, the wicked, the reprobate, are uniformly feeble and inadequate; his success or failure is always proportioned to his moral sympathy or distaste."—Pp. 191-2-3.

Let us, then, at once draw our conclusion. We must not expect, nor ought we to desire the formation of a religious school of art otherwise than by the formation of a school of *religious artists*; that is, of men who will do their work with faith and for love, whose outward performances will be only counterparts of an inward devotion; so that what they strive to represent in form and colour shall be the visions of their

* One of the most beautiful productions of B. Angelico's pencil is his Last Judgment, in the gallery of the late Cardinal Fesch. Lord Lindsay has described it (vol. iii. p. 187). It was bought in, at the sale of the cardinal's pictures, by his nephew, the prince of Canino; and has just been purchased from him by Lord Ward. This will be a most valuable addition to the small share of specimens of Christian art possessed by England.

own pious meditations, and the fruit of their constant conversation with things spiritual and holy.

We have before said, that a school of Christian art must spring up under the conviction that this is creative, and not merely imitative; and this may call for some explanation here. There is a medium to be kept, not binding on the pursuer of any other branch of art: the one between traditional modes and original ideas. Here, too, we are in danger of being cramped by prejudices in favour of the mere antique. It is certain, indeed, that the first revivers of painting, how much soever they cultivated and perfected design, colouring, and expression, allowed themselves to be severely fettered in composition, by the standard or traditionary manner of representing given subjects; so as to have departed but slowly and cautiously from the stiff and formal arrangement of a preceding period. This is easily accounted for. They painted essentially *for the people*. Let that never be forgotten. Their pictures might be ordered by a prince or a wealthy merchant; but it was never with a view of putting them into a gallery, only to be opened by a ticket or a shilling, but to be hung over some altar, or to adorn the walls of a cloister, or perhaps a public hall. They painted, therefore, so that the people should at once understand their pictures; and therefore, as they had been accustomed to see the subjects treated. To have left out, or violently displaced figures which always formed part of a subject, would have been to disturb the habitual train of thought, and consequently the devotion of those who came to be edified, and to pray before them. And here let us pause for one moment, to express our feeling, of how glorious a sight must have been presented by one of the churches of Florence

or Siena (and we might add other cities), when the altar-pieces of the old masters, which yet in part adorn them, were all fresh, not merely in their gold and paint, but in that heavenly sweetness of expression which, even in their present faded state, beams from their panels. But, still, the observer will note the formality of composition that gives them a family resemblance, though otherwise belonging to different authors, nay, to different schools and ages. For, from Giotto to Pietro Perugino, the same rules for this portion of art prevailed.

The reason which we have given will sufficiently account for this. At the same time it is clear that every advance in correctness of design, beauty, and harmony of colour, and above all in perfection of expression, would please, naturally, even those who could not discover the cause of their emotions, or would only increase and deepen those feelings which the same subject inferiorly treated had before produced. No one would quarrel with a picture because the Blessed Virgin in it was more lovely, or the infant on her knees more divine, or the saints on either side more devout; but many would have perhaps murmured had a change taken place in the ordinary disposition of these figures, and had the mother and child been transferred from the post of honour to one side of the composition, as we find it later in Correggio or Guido. But these traditions of ancient Christian art have been totally broken, and there are no associations in existing monuments around us, and before the people, nor in devotional forms of conception familiar through preaching or meditation, to give them now any particular empire over the affections of beholders, or over the standard rules of

composition. To bind Christian art, on its revival, to the conventional forms of representation admitted in old times, would be a groundless tyranny, and in fact would tend to strangle it in its very cradle. In this respect we think the Germans have given us a useful lesson, and we should be prepared to follow it. We have no hesitation in stating our conviction, that however short the best modern Catholic artists may fall, in giving that truly devout and heavenly character to individual figures, which belongs to the older masters, they have gained upon them (regard being had to the character of our age), in the giving of more action and more varied expression to subjects that naturally require it, in bringing forward as subjects for art, events and circumstances which, for the reasons above given, were not handled by the more ancient artists; and finally in conceiving new and often most exquisite representations of subjects often before treated. We shall perhaps shock the antiquarian artist by such an avowal; but we shall do no good with art in this country till many prejudices are broken down. We will put one case. Let a modern artist be desired to paint the *Sposalizio*, or espousal of Mary to Joseph, and that for a public church. Would he venture to take the old type, such as Pietro and Raffaello have given it, in their exquisite pictures of this subject, based, that is, on the traditional history of the blossoming rod of Joseph? Would he introduce the youth breaking his barren rod over his knee? If he did, who in a thousand, that looked on it, would understand it? And if a long explanation were given, would that move to piety which is not based on any belief? At the time, and in the country, of those older artists, the history was at any rate known; the tradition was alive, the spectators understood the meaning of each

circumstance. Now and here, the chain has been broken, and would it be profitable to reconnect it? Nay, could one hope to gain any advancement in piety and faith, by endeavouring to revive the knowledge of an uncertain legend? But who could fail to understand and to appreciate, nay to be moved by, Overbeck's conception of the subject; espousals so pure and so unearthly, that no witnesses are there but angels, so that the whole function is one of heaven heavenly, without example and without imitation? We could multiply instances of what will be admitted by all to be purer and sublimer conceptions of scenes in our Saviour's life by modern than by older artists, but we remember having given several in one of our first numbers.^d Then as to new subjects, not anciently treated, but worked out by meditation and earnest thoughtfulness, the illustrious artist already mentioned and his many followers, among whom Steinle must hold a distinguished place, would furnish us with abundant examples; but fortunately we have one to our purpose nearer home. This year's Catalogue of the Royal Academy's annual exhibition, contains a picture (No. 130), which cannot fail to arrest the eye of every visitor of that collection. It is Mr. Herbert's picture of our Saviour, subject to His parents at Nazareth. It represents a circumstance, which, though not historical, is not merely possible, but highly probable. Some wood, thrown on the ground beside Joseph's humble workshop, has formed a cross. This naturally lights up a train of thought in the mind of the Divine Youth, who stands for a moment as if fixed in a painful trance, while His Mother, who lays up every look, as every word, in her heart, gazes on Him, with work suspended, in intense and loving, and therefore

^d Vol. i. p. 459.

sympathizing, interest.* Here is a subject which everyone will at once acknowledge to be worthy of the pencil of any truly Christian artist. To the mere Bible Christian it may appear fanciful: but not so to the Catholic. Long before Mr. Herbert's successful attempt to give it outward life by design and colour, it had suggested itself to the devout meditation of the most tender, the most poetical, and the most sweetly loving of the ancient Fathers, St. Ephrem the Syrian. It will not be long, we trust, before we call our reader's attention to the admirable and most learned translation of his Rhythms, just published by the Rev. J. B. Morris, late of Exeter College, Oxford, and now of St. Mary's, Oscott; but we trust that, in the meantime, no Catholic who can procure the book will fail to feast his devotion on its delightful stores of spiritual refreshment. In the seventeenth Rhythm we meet with this remarkable passage: "Hail! Son of the Creator! hail to the Son of the carpenter! who, when creating, created everything in the mystery of the cross. And haply, even in the house of Joseph that carpenter, with the cross He was busied all the day." Thus we have a Father of the fourth century considering it probable that our Blessed Saviour, from passing his early youth in a carpenter's house, would have the thought of the cross constantly brought before his mind.

* [The picture was described in the Exhibition Catalogue by the following verses, written at the artist's request :—

"Perhaps the Cross, which chance would oft design,
Upon the floor of Joseph's humble shed,
Across Thy brow serene, and heart divine,
A passing cloud of Golgotha would spread."]

[†] Select Works of St. Ephrem the Syrian; Oxford, Parker, 1847, p. 164.

Such is the subject on which Mr. Herbert has happily seized, though unconscious of so early a precedent; and the concurrent voice of artists and critics gives evidence of his success. Nothing can be more simple than the composition of the picture: there is no effort at strong effects by combinations. Each figure is apart, detached, so as to claim, and actually receive, separate and successive attention. The attitudes are singularly simple, natural, and unstudied; drawn and painted with a delicate accuracy, not merely of outline, but of fold, feature, and smallest lineament—a precaution absolutely necessary, where the artist invites the eye to the careful observation of each figure in its detail. Nor is there anything in the accessories to divide the attention. The landscape, copied from the present arid reality of Nazareth, is stern, unvaried, and undistracting: so that the entire attention is concentrated on the figures, and principally on One. The expression of this is, to our minds, a little too overcast with pain; but this is a comparatively slight defect amidst the beauties of the piece. Its great merit is decidedly the direct appeal which it makes, through expression to religious feelings, while it simply tells its whole history to the observer, and enables him to enter fully into the part acted by each person represented. It requires no book-learning to understand, to comprehend, and to feel it; it cannot make any but one impression, a tender and devout one; it will leave a quiet and calm reflection of itself on the mind, which will not be effaced by the ghastly brilliancy of Turner's incomprehensible dreams, nor by the warm and feeling exhibition of religious chivalry in Etty's noble painting. All this is in accordance with what we wish to see, in a true religious school of art.

But we have almost lost sight of the subject more

immediately in view, at the time that we mentioned Mr. Herbert's picture ; though our reason for entering so fully into it will appear just now. We were anxious to impress upon our readers the importance of looking upon religious art as a creative power, not as a servile imitator of what have been called "conventional," or "traditional," forms. This picture we quoted as an instance of the possibility, even in this degenerate age, of finding subjects not treated before, and making them fit vehicles for the conveying to the mind of believers most religious impressions. We repeat, therefore, that to such traditional forms as belong purely to art and not to religion, in other words, to traditions for which there is not any doctrine, or even pious belief handed down by the Church, but merely a practice of copying from an antecedent and ruder period, we do not think that artists should be bound in a country like ours, where the very existence of such traditions has been lost, and where the reproduction could only cause misunderstanding, and would be equivalent to a new creation.

But, as we remarked, it is necessary to keep a medium ; so as not to depart too far from certain conventional forms and modes of representation—such, that is, as have a ground in ecclesiastical learning, and have a truth about them that would soon be intelligible. And this, we conceive, would be one of the advantages of a recognized Catholic school of art in England, as it certainly has been in Germany : that many being trained on given principles, they would have their individual fancies checked ; and gradually, such forms and characters of religious representations would be established, as would at once be intelligible to all, and yet be conformable to all real traditions, and even to all well-grounded conventions, in matters

where some rule is necessary. Perhaps a few examples will best explain our meaning. 1. We would, then, for instance, have strict regard paid to the symbols of the saints, such as, partly history, and partly tradition, has appointed them. The instruments of their martyrdom, the emblems of their dignity, the representation of some great work (as a church), or an object allusive to their occupation, are fitting modes of giving those holy personages individual character. St. Peter should not be deprived of his keys, nor St. Lawrence of his gridiron, nor St. Catherine of her wheel, nor St. Agnes of her lamb, nor St. Jerome of his lion, by any innovation of art. Such symbolism is at once natural, intelligible, and historical. We believe that these saints, were they to appear in vision, would make themselves cognizable by these, their respective, badges. 2. The same we would say respecting the insignia of office or robes, distinctive of ecclesiastical dignity. Too severe an attention to historical costume would be pedantic, fatiguing, and perplexing. It is true, a bishop of the third century did not wear a cope and mitre of the same form as now are in use; but these have become the well-known emblems and garments of persons in that office, and as such should be given to pontiffs who, though they lived ages ago on earth, are represented to the piety of the faithful as living in heaven now.

In the public square at Milan is a statue in marble, of modern sculpture, representing a person in a Roman toga; and we remember being almost shocked on being told, in answer to an inquiry, that it represented St. Ambrose. We could not give assent to our friendly and learned guide's arguments, that this was the *truer* representation. We could not bear to see the saint otherwise than as a bishop. In like manner, we would

have the raiment of the celestial hierarchy, where they appear upon earth, copied from that of the Church here below. For the angels are represented to us as ministering at the altar in heaven, and our faith teaches us to consider the triumphant and the militant, but as portions of one indivisible Church, and those blessed spirits as fellow-ministers with our visible priesthood. Moreover, the eye of the faithful is accustomed to consider the ecclesiastical garments, used only at the altar, as the most sacred of outward apparel, and more dignified, in truth, than the most splendid distinctions of mere secular rank.

3. We would have due observance of the appropriation of established colours in the draperies of Our Divine Saviour, our Blessed Lady, and other saints. For the eye has been accustomed to the choice, and it is in itself appropriate; and every one would be offended at mixed and fancy colours being applied to such figures. In the same manner, we should never object (in pictures not meant for historical, but for devotional) to a richness being given to these accessories of a picture, such as certainly never existed. But in this respect too, we would have great sobriety of taste.

4. Where there is no certain belief or tradition to guide us, and the one followed by old artists is natural and devout, we should deprecate departure from this. For instance, in the Annunciation, the Blessed Virgin is always represented as at prayer, or as rising from prayer, when the angel enters. We should be sorry to see an attempt to alter this, and to have the mystery take place, while any meaner or more homely occupation was going on. But we cannot reconcile ourselves to adherence to certain forms, merely because they are old; as our Saviour, at His resurrection,

springing from a coffin which could not hold half His body; or as an infant attended by an ox and an ass of most extraordinary species, not larger than lapdogs; or standing in the air, of which we have specimens at hand. Nor can we tolerate the transit of our Lady made like the death-bed of one whose salvation might be doubtful, where every appliance of anxious piety is made by the attendant apostles, instead of them and us gazing in silent awe and edification at the passage of that sinless soul from its spotless tabernacle to the bosom of its Lord. No amount of precedent, even from the most hallowed names, will ever make us submit to such traditionary modes.

Our readers will however see, that our concessions to established usages, are sufficiently ample to secure their being preserved, where intelligible and really good.

Having now discharged our consciences of what perhaps many will not wholly approve, but having at the same time, we are sure, cleared the ground of prejudices, which have stood powerfully in the way of engaging real artists to attempt the foundation of a religious school, we proceed to a more pleasing portion of our undertaking.

We stated, almost at the outset, that we thought there were indications of a rising feeling for true religious art among the people. Though the evidences may appear slight, it is fair to state them. First, the reference which we have made to Mr. Herbert's picture affords us one. It must have struck everyone, who follows the course of public opinion on such matters, that this painting has met with universal, and almost with unbounded, praise. Without distinction of religious character, every paper that has

mentioned it, has spoken of it as one of the most beautiful in the exhibition. Nor is this all; it has riveted the gaze, and won the admiration, of the multitudes that have flocked around it; nor have we heard of any feelings expressed before it, but such as proved how completely it addressed itself at once to the minds and hearts of the people. This we own has given us almost our first ray of hope, on the practical possibility of establishing a Catholic school of art. When there is sentiment enough in the people to appreciate so peculiar a subject, treated so quietly, so differently from what they are accustomed to on the walls of the Royal Academy, we have secured to us the basis, the *priming*, if we may so speak, upon which Christian art can work.

But further let us remark, that similar taste has been shown in other ways. Thus we have been struck with the evident manner in which the splendid Francias in the National Gallery arrests the eye of those who visit that collection, although they present neither intensity of action, nay, nor action at all, nor subjects with which the English mind is familiar. But while passing by the awful and stern magnificence of Sebastiano's masterpiece, which few can prize, we see young and old won by the soft and sweet radiance of the angels mourning over the sacred corpse of their Lord, feeling, if they do not fully comprehend, the essentially Catholic spirituality of the scene, and the deep mysteries which it conceals.

We could add some other reasons for our opinion; but it is not necessary.* For it would be folly to

* [Since this was written, what is called the Pre-Raphaelite school has arisen, and made a progress, which may one day, under the religious influences, which it clearly wants, become the germ of a truly Christian school of art. At present, with some exceptions, it

expect any strong demonstration in favour of a branch of art, which does not as yet exist on a scale to permit it. Not one Englishman in ten thousand has an opportunity of seeing a truly religious painting; not one in ten times that number, of seeing so many and such as can form his taste, and enable him to appreciate this highest department of art. All that we can reasonably expect, therefore, is that, in proportion as opportunities are afforded for trial, the result should be favourable; and the instances mentioned are enough for this. Development must be the work of time. Let us but give to the English public but one such chance of showing its taste, as the king of Bavaria has done at Munich, or is doing at Spire; let us throw open one good church, glowing from its ceiling to its lower panelling, not with diaper and mere colour, not even with single figures in separate compartments, but with a series of large and simple histories, comprising the chief Gospel mysteries and the life of the Blessed Virgin or any other great saint; let expression of the most refined and dignified character reign in every head and countenance; let the tints be harmonious, grave, yet warm and bright; let holiness and calm reign through every part; and we shall soon see, first, whether the English heart is not as fully attuned to the sentiment of the beautiful and delicate in art, as that of any other nation; and, secondly, whether encouragement will not spring up on all sides for this higher sphere of art, enough both to give employment to all formed artists, and to enkindle genius, that otherwise might for ever have wanted life. To expect more than this would be as absurd as to suppose, that a love

stands to real Christian art, as the works of Niccolò di Fuligno do to those of Beato Angelico.]

of naval life and glory could exist in an inland tribe of Africa, that had never seen a ship.

Now comes the great question, Is this practicable? Is it hopeful? How is this first effort to be made? How is this first specimen to be given? We could answer by following up our illustration; and say, "Do as the Romans did when they determined to rival the Carthaginians at sea. They took the wreck of a galley cast on their shore, and copied it, and they trained their future sailors on dry land. Begin by imitating the works of others; take your models and examples from abroad. *Fiat experimentum in corpore vili*; try on a small scale, and produce something less perfect to begin with." But this will never do. We must begin with something great and noble at once. Christian art must not come out before the public, for the first time, mean and imperfect. Her unfledged efforts at flight must be sacred, in the retreat of the academy or the *studio*. On the walls of the sanctuary she must appear bright, golden, queen-like, from the first, fit associate for adoring angels and heavenly mysteries. Are we, then, dreaming of some chimera, the brood of an over-heated imagination? On the contrary, we are writing on what we believe—dare we say, intend?—to be a most practical and a most certain result.

Lord Lindsay, at the conclusion of his work, asks this significant question: "And why despair of this" (of painting like Raphael and Michael Angelo), "or even of shaming the Vatican? For with genius and God's blessing nothing is impossible." (Vol. iii. p. 420.) Now to this we answer, that without presumption it may be really said, that the blessing of genius for Christian Art is not one which it has pleased the Almighty to give out of the Catholic Church. No Protestant country has yet produced a religious artist

of any sort ; every Catholic one has produced a school. Account for it as you please, the fact stands hard and incontrovertible ; and as such it has two faces—it looks to the future as well as to the past. Protestantism is barren as to religious art ; and Lord Lindsay's book gives us additional proof, if we wanted it, of this truth. We shall not be departing from our subject by a few paragraphs in evidence of this.

Protestantism is essentially irreverent ; and Lord Lindsay's work, great as is its merit, shows it. He begins it by a long preface on "*Christian Mythology*." And this is synonymous with "the materials of Christian art during the Middle Ages." Imagine the possibility of a school of art springing up among a sect, who, while they pretend to copy or rival old art, consider its materials—a *mythology* ! Can their artists be expected to look on it with more reverence, or to treat its subjects with more feeling, than they would those of Grecian or of Egyptian mythology ? But just let us look at some of these mythologies. The torments of hell, as painted in the Middle Ages, were suggested by Buddhist doctrines. (Vol. i. p. xxxiii.) The origin of the nine orders or choirs that compose the heavenly hierarchy, from seraphim to angels (though each is mentioned by St. Paul, and from him the order is drawn by the Fathers), "must be sought for apparently in the remote east, among the Chaldeans and Medo-Persians !" (P. xxxiv.) The Nativity and Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (p. xl.), her woes at the foot of the Cross (p. l.) are all mythologies ! as is her Assumption ! (P. lxii.) The same is to be said of the Discovery of the Cross, of its Exaltation, and of many other historical subjects. But we are not left merely to induction for our conclusion that Protestantism is void of that reverence, which is as

necessary an ingredient in religious art, as oil, or some other vehicle, is in the composition of its colours. Lord Lindsay's language in speaking of these subjects is blasphemously irreverent, nay even to Anglicanism heterodox. He tells us that the apocryphal gospels may be traced to Leucius, a Gnostic heretic, who forged them chiefly "with a view of supporting *the peculiar tenets of the sect, namely that the Blessed Mary was ever Virgin,*" &c. "The early Church," he adds, "in rejecting the leading principle of the heresy, and condemning the heretics, sanctioned, or at least winked at, the circulation of the fables devised by them in its support, and these have become the mythology of Christianity while many of the dogmas which they were grounded upon have crept into the faith." (P. xl.) The belief therefore in the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Mother of God is, according to Lord Lindsay, a *peculiar tenet* of Gnosticism, which has crept into the Church! Again, "The transfer to her" (the Blessed Virgin) "of the popular veneration for a female deity, whether Diana, Astarte, or Isis, universally current among the Southern nations, is the key to the whole mystery of her various representation in early art." (P. lxiii.) We pass over other similarly afflicting passages; for these will suffice. If the enthusiastic admirer of early Christian art can thus think of all that inspired it, and looks upon it with the irreverent eyes, and speaks of it with the flippant tongue, wherewith he might approach the abominations of heathen fable, what hope can there be that the religion (*sit verbo venia*) which can generate such feelings, will ever give birth to any noble or tender inspirations of that very art? In the next place, Protestantism, as regards art, is essentially unholy. Two characteristics of holiness pervade pic-

torial art, which at once distinguish its figures from those of its profane or secular sister—austerity and purity. The entire outline of body is corrected and etherealized by the former, the countenance is sweetened and irradiated by the latter. Disconnect the idea of holiness from these ; assume that a saint is not of necessity a mortified and self-denying character, and that chastity or purity is not the virtue which makes angels of men, and you may indeed have a school of religious painting, that will riot in masses of gross flesh and most unsaintly countenances, like Rubens, but not what Lord Lindsay asks for, men who will paint like Pietro Perugino and Luca Signorelli. Now his lordship, speaking, no doubt, the language of the future patrons of English Christian art, has clearly recorded his own views on the subject of these very virtues. In the passage above quoted, the doctrine of mortification is enumerated among Gnostic errors. But further on, the whole Catholic doctrine of “the ascetic or angelic life” is characterized in terms of opprobrious condemnation (p. civ.), which we will attribute to ignorance of its true nature, rather than to any worse motive. But his attack upon the Catholic virtue of chastity will at once satisfy us of the utter hopelessness of the revival which he contemplates. It is as follows :—

“This fresco needs little comment. I need not remind you that the chastity thus commended is that which brands our wives and mothers with a slur—nor dwell upon the melancholy consequences to human virtue and happiness entailed by the fatal and most unscriptural restriction of the idea, and the term, to virginity and celibacy—a delusion of most ancient date, and inherited alike by the Mystics of the East and the West, the Buddhists and the Gnostics—the latter of whom, more especially, referred the origin of sin to the creation of matter, the creation of matter to the evil principle—and identified that evil principle with Jehovah ! St. Francis shared

to the full in the agonies of the early ascetics,^b—it is a subject that can but be alluded to.—May God in His mercy shield us from such horrors in England!”—Vol. ii. p. 225.

Let any artist imbued with these notions sit down to meditate upon the countenance which he would give to a “Virgin-Saint,” whose chief characteristic must be the virtue thus unchristianly denounced, beaming from every feature. As to his attempting to depict the Queen of Virgins, to set forth the lily, after he has scorned its whiteness, we defy him.

Furthermore, Protestantism presents no types of Christian art. It has destroyed the types of the past. It excludes as legendary all the most beautiful histories of the early saints : it has quenched all sympathy for the favourite themes of mediæval painting, the Fathers of the desert, St. Benedict, and the great monastic heroes, and still more, the inspirer and the maturer of art, and of its poetry, the glorious St. Francis of Assisium. And as to the present, it allows no communion with saints in heaven, and consequently no interest in having their effigies before our eyes : no loving intercourse with blessed spirits, and therefore no right to bring them visibly into action. All ecstasy, supernatural contemplation, vision, and rapturous prayer, with the only approach to heavenly expression that earth can give ; all miracles and marvellous occurrences, with the store of incident which they supply ; all mingling, in any one scene, of the living and the Blessed, the past and the present—in fine, all the poetry of art is coldly cut out, nay, strangled and quenched, by the hard hand of Protestantism.

And as to the living types which the Catholic Church supplies, where is Anglicanism to find them ?

^b Vita, p. 43.

The Catholic artist can unfold the most noble characters or scenes of the past, by representing them as they would be found now in the Church. He would put St. Cuthbert or St. Thomas in cope and mitre, such as may be seen on any high festival in the church of Birmingham or Oscott; he would place an angel by his side in the alb and cincture which any minister could wear in a church of London or Bristol, and clothe the attendant monks in habits still worn at Downside or in Charnwood Forest. All would be new and yet fully represent the old, as nobly and as perfectly as it can be done. Let an Anglican artist try to establish the same links, and observe the same truthfulness; let him endeavour thus, through the eye, to convince Protestant beholders, that these venerable personages are fully represented by their modern counterparts. Will he venture to vest the Anglo-Saxon bishop in lawn sleeves and wig, or the angel in a chorister's surplice, or the monks in the cap and gown of a university proctor, or Head of a House?

We might further add that Protestantism lacks essentially all religious tenderness and affectionateness. It has no sympathies with the mysteries that touch the feelings. The crucifix is, to it, what it was in St. Paul's time dividedly to Jew and Gentile, both a stumbling-block and foolishness; the Mother of sevenfold grief is a superstition. Meditation on the infancy or passion of our Lord is not part of youthful training in its schools; it has not produced a tender writer on these subjects.

Now from all this, what are we to conclude? Not merely that Protestantism will never give reality to Lord Lindsay's day-dreams, on the revival of Christian art in England, not merely that it is effete for all

artistic purposes; but that Christian art is a noble and a divine existence, not to be commanded by patronage, not to be bought by wealth, not to be coaxed by flattery, not even to be wooed and won by genius. It must spring up, either like the phoenix, from the ashes of its great predecessors,—and this it may do in Italy—or like the first light, by creation, from the void of a preceding chaos. Protestantism has neither a smouldering spark nor a creative vigour, to quicken it; but the Catholic Church has it everywhere, and therefore here. And this is our answer to our former queries. The time is come; and Catholic art is even now ready to spring into life. We are sure, we know it as a certainty, that there are at this moment in England, artists of the highest name and character ready to lend the powerful guidance of their abilities and experience, towards directing the formation of such a school. We know, too, that there are not wanting youthful artists ready to constitute its body under such guidance; men full of confidence, because full of faith; enamoured of all that the Church teaches them to love as well as to believe; admirers of all that is truly beautiful in ancient art and in living virtue; trained already, and skilled in the mechanism and material portion of their art; and what is more important than all, inured to the exclusively Catholic principle of self-devotion, self-dedication to what is fair, good, and holy, for its own sake. Here is all ready, the materials are compounded; only the quickening touch is wanted, and all will burst into life. Let it not be thought that we are basing our conclusions on vague data or uncertain conjecture; that our wishes are the only groundwork for our assertions. We have carefully weighed the whole matter, we have within reach all that we have reckoned on; we have

every evidence that can promise certain results before us, and we are sure that the Catholic public is but little aware of the number of religious artists existing in the country, of their talents, of their zeal, and of their earnest desire to create and perpetuate a school of genuine religious art. Let only what we have written produce an echo in the Catholic mind; let us feel that the ground is secure under our feet; let us learn that a practical effort to produce and to show forth all that we have promised will be generously seconded and supported, and we will engage that what we have written shall not be a dead letter, but shall mark the era of the rise, or at least the planting, of a flourishing and fruitful institution.

We have till now had occasion to speak of Lord Lindsay's work, more in the way of reprehension than of praise. We should be sorry, however, to dismiss it thus. It is, without exception, the most elaborate, the most intelligent, and the most complete work on Christian art, which English literature contains. Lord Lindsay has travelled through Italy with the eye of a connoisseur and the admiration of an enthusiast. He has traced, as far as possible by his works, the history of each great master, followed his influence through the various schools, and endeavoured to make out the filiations and connections of these. Anyone travelling into Italy for artistic purposes, will find this work not merely a useful, but an indispensable, companion. Besides the more serious faults which regard religion, and are painful to a Catholic reader, it has many lesser blemishes and mistakes, which a second edition will probably correct. We have not made any regular note of these, but a few examples may serve to direct the author's eye to others. Vol. i. p. 33, S. Stefano in Rotondo is described as an

ancient baptistery; of which there is no evidence,—in fact, it was originally an open portico, perhaps a public hall. Page 78, the mosaic on the triumphal arch of the Basilica of St. Paul, near Rome, fortunately was not destroyed. It was taken down after the fire, and carefully repaired, to be again replaced. Page 86 (note), we are told that “of the intermediate Dedication” (Presentation) “of the Virgin (her ascent of the steps of the temple when a child) there certainly existed a traditional representation in the tenth and eleventh centuries; but it is very rare and of inferior merit, and was never, that I am aware of, copied by Italian artists.” We are writing this almost at the foot of a painting, most probably by Giotto, representing this very subject. Page 89, the mosaic of our Lord’s Baptism at Ravenna is said to be probably the original of the traditional representation of this subject. We can refer further back to the painting over an ancient font of living water in the Catacombs, in the Cemetery of Pontianus, out of the Porta Portese. Page 92 we have the two usual male figures, engaged in the Deposition from the Cross, described as “Joseph and Nathaniel.” In vol. ii. p. 192, the same two persons are called “Nicodemus and Nathaniel.” We need not observe that the second name in each enumeration is an error, and that Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea should stand together in both places. Page 159, St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Nicholas of Bari are made two distinct persons, uncle and nephew. But the great archbishop of the East is the same whose body now reposes at Bari, from which he consequently has taken his name.

These, however, are small inaccuracies compared with one which pervades the work—the German theorizing spirit in which the author attempts to explain

the characteristics of different schools, or of different epochs of art, by the greater prevalence of ethnographical influences, the disproportionate intermixture of given races. This is useless as it is fanciful; and in reading a work where one naturally looks for information, for principles, and occasionally for eloquent description or bursts of feeling, one is only annoyed, and almost disgusted, to find the Hindoo, or the Medo-Persian, or the Teutonic element of art brought in to account for results which can have no connection with any of them. Nay, this is carried so far, that we are gravely told that, to understand the reason why the Greek Church turned their churches towards the east, and the Roman towards the west, "we should recollect that Byzantium was a Dorian city, that Roman civilization was of Ionian origin, and that the Dorians and Ionians, the types respectively of conservation and progression, entered their temples, the former from the west, the latter from the east—the former bending their eye for ever on the world they had left behind, the latter pressing eagerly forward in search of novelty and change." (Vol. i. p. 19.) Surely this is but solemn trifling at the best.

We will now draw our remarks to a conclusion. We believe Lord Lindsay's work calculated to do much good; to awake thought, and to excite good desires, on the subject of Christian art. Many passages, too, there are in it which will gratify every Catholic, from the candid testimony which they bear to the privileges, if not to the truths, of his religion. We will conclude with one extract, which will show his opinion on the ecclesiological movement in the Anglican Church.

"I much fear that Mr. Pugin is right—that it is 'as utterly impossible to square a Catholic building with the present rites as to mingle oil with water,'—that 'those who think merely to build

chancels without reviving the ancient faith, will be miserably deceived in their expectation,'—'the study of ancient church architecture' (in such an exclusive spirit) 'is an admirable preparation for the old faith,'—and that 'if the present revival of Catholic antiquity is suffered to proceed much farther, it will be seen that either the Common Prayer or the ancient models must be abandoned.' (*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 130, 137, &c.) But what is the alternative? the meeting-house? By no means. The Church of England is neither Catholic nor Protestant—she does not, with the Catholics, exalt imagination and repudiate reason, nor, with the Protestants, exalt reason and repudiate imagination; but includes them both, harmoniously opposed, within her constitution, so as to preserve the balance of truth, and point out the true 'via media' between superstition on the one hand and scepticism on the other, thus approximating (in degree) to the ideal of human nature, Christ Incarnate, of whom the Church is the Body, and ought to be the Likeness and the Image. This, then, is the problem—England wants a new architecture, expressive of the epoch, of her Anglican faith, and of the human mind as balanced in her development, as heir of the past and trustee for the future—a modification, it may be, of the Gothic, but not otherwise so than as the Gothic was a modification of the Lombard, the Lombard of the Byzantine and Roman, the Byzantine and Roman of the Classic Greek, the Classic Greek of the Egyptian. We have a right to expect this from the importance of the epoch, and I see no reason why the man to create it, the Buschetto of the nineteenth century, may not be among us at this moment, although we know it not."—Vol. ii. p. 29, note.

What chance is there for Christian painting in the Church which has not yet raised fitting walls on which it can be executed?

BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
COUNCIL HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE,
A.D. 1166.

From the CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.

BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
COUNCIL HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE,
A.D. 1166.

*With Remarks on the newly-discovered Testimony of St. Amphilochius,
Bishop of Iconium, in the Fourth Century, in Favour of the Real
Presence in the Blessed Eucharist.*

At a moment when Socinianism may be said to be gaining ground in Europe, it must be interesting to learn the particulars of the council held at Constantinople, on an important part of the Arian controversy, in 1166, the acts of which have lately been brought to light. Besides the interest it must excite from its direct object, it is of immense value to Catholics from other considerations, which we shall endeavour to present.

That such a council had been celebrated was known from ecclesiastical history ; and Leo Allatius had even seen the original acts, which have now been published.* This important publication we owe to the late indefatigable librarian of the Vatican, Monsignor Mai. The acts are found in several manuscripts, but the learned editor has naturally preferred the MS. 1176, which is one of the original copies, made certainly during the life of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, and probably in the council itself. The first is evinced by the portraits of

* De Consensu, lib. ii. 12.

the emperor and his consort Maria, painted at the beginning of the work. These could not well have been executed in a later reign; for Andronicus, who succeeded Manuel, was the great enemy of his house, and cruelly murdered his son Alexius, and this very empress Maria. But a still more precious determination of the authenticity of this copy is found in the autograph signatures of all the patriarchs and bishops who attended the council, twice repeated in this manuscript. These Monsignor Mai has engraved in his publication.^b

The acts are entitled: "Synod upon the saying, '*The Father is greater than I.*'" The first action is almost entirely occupied with preliminary matter, but is, in reality, the most interesting portion. We are informed that, in the twenty-third year of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, great and troublesome disputes had arisen in the (Greek) Church, and caused tumults even among the people, respecting the true interpretation of John xiv. 23,—"*The Father is greater than I.*" "The streets, the lanes, the houses," were full of angry discussions on this subject.^c One party maintained that the words expressed merely the connection of Christ's divine nature with the Father, and consequently mere *procession*; others asserted that they spoke of the relation of the human nature, and therefore of a real *inferiority*. Both sides, as usual, had recourse to hard names; the former accused their opponents of Nestorianism; and were complimented, in return, with the name of Monophysites. The royal theologian—for, Ephræmius assures us that Cæsar composed catechetical sermons, called *σελέντια*, with great skill, and no suspicion of their spuriousness, and thence encouraged, dived into deep mysteries, as though he had been

^b Scriptorum Vet. nova collect. 4to. tom. iv. Romæ, 1831.

^c Ibid. p. 4.

inspired by Christ himself^d—sided with the second of these opinions.

How, then, did he attempt to gain a satisfactory solution of this question? Did he peruse his Bible carefully to find other passages, which might throw a light upon these obscure words? Or did he send some promising scholar to make a biblical tour, like Birch, or Adler, or Scholz, to ascertain whether any manuscript yielded a various reading bearing upon their illustration? Or, in fine, did he propound it as the subject of a prize essay, for youthful theologians to write and exercise their ingenuity upon? Instead of these fashionable modern ways of arriving at the interpretation of the text, our imperial divine takes a sadly popish way of going to work. In spite, the acts tell us, of the cares of the empire, which fell upon him “thick as rain-drops,” he had all the opinions of the ancient Fathers upon this subject collected together; and, not content with his own sovereign judgment, he submitted them to the inspection of his patriarchs, and asked their decision.* After the recital of these circumstances in the acts, follow the texts so collected, sometimes from works now lost, and comprising, not merely the Greek, but also many of the Latin, Fathers. The list consists of St. John Damascene, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Athanasius, St. Amphilochius, St. Cyril, St. John Chrysostom, St. Leo, St. Anastasius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Augustine,

^d The expressions of this metrical chronicler are curious, and may serve as a specimen of his style.

Ἄλλ' ὠδινῶν γε, καὶ κατηχητηρίους ἢ παιδας ἀπετίκτεν εὐγενεῖς λόγους οὓς φασὶ σελεντία συνετοὺς ἄγαν ὁδῶ προῖων ἡμμενος καὶ δογματῶν, περὶ Θεοῦ λεγῆν τι καὶ κλίνει θέλει νοῦν δυσεφικτοῖς δογμασὶ δ' ἐφίστανων πενσεῖς προσηγὲ καὶ λύσεις τούτων περὶ, ὡς ἂν μυθθεῖς πρὸς Χριστοῦ τῶν περὶ.

Ephræmii Cæsares, Scriptor. Vet. tom. iii. p. 116. His account of our council, in the same page, is not correct.

• Page 5.

St. Ambrose, St. Agatho, Sophronius, and St. Basil. After these come the learned arguments of the emperor, who addressed by turns different theologians, to bring them over to his opinions. Not satisfied, however, with the result of his labours, he determined to have a synod, in form. It met in the part of the imperial palace built by himself,—*Ἐν τῇ ὑπερώῳ τροπικῇ τῇ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ πορφυρομανηλάτῳ τρικλίνου,*¹ on Tuesday, the 2nd of March, A.D. 1166. With this sitting commences the second action. All the royal family and the great officers of the household attended on the emperor, who presided : there were present three patriarchs and thirty-nine bishops. After the question had been proposed by the emperor, the bishops, one by one, gave their opinions in favour of the text applying to the inferiority of the human nature, no less than to the procession of the divine. Many expressly give, as their only reason, the consent of the Fathers. The third action is taken up with subscribing the dogmatical decree of the council ; the emperor signing first, and giving his reasons with all the exactness of phrase which could satisfy the most punctilious divine. In the fourth, the canons pronouncing anathema against all impugnors, and eternal memory to the maintainers of the true faith, were voted. The fifth was occupied in drawing up a more explicit declaration of faith, as that before subscribed had not been considered satisfactory by all ; and, in the sixth, those who laboured under suspicion of heterodoxy, made open declaration of their belief. John Pantechnes, imperial *σκενοφύλαξ*, and the bishops of Myrae, Larissa, Rhodes, Adrianople, Neopatræ, Thebes, and Maronea, went through this important ordeal. A new and very long decree was then drawn up, in consequence of additional objec-

tions, and a new canon added, which deserves to be cited : " Whoso rejecteth the words of the holy Fathers spoken in confirmation of the true doctrines of God's Church, likewise whoso refuseth the acts of general councils, to wit, the fourth and sixth ; unto him be anathema."* The seventh action was entirely occupied with receiving the imperial edict for the promulgation of the acts ; but the eighth presents a scene of deeper interest.

It begins solemnly by declaring, that there is a time for being silent, and a time for speaking. George, metropolitan of Nice, had been refractory to the decrees of the synod, and had incurred its penalties. But he had now repented, and with many tears implored the emperor's clemency. He interceded with the council, in mitigation of the canonical penance ; and whereas this was deposition, the disobedient prelate was only sentenced to a suspension from his office for two years. For several hours he lay prostrate, bathing the ground with his tears, and begging further mercy ; his brethren relented, and the presiding patriarch reduced the term of punishment to only one year. The synod then closed, after invoking every blessing upon the emperor. At the end of the volume are the autograph signatures of the bishops.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the circumstances which make these acts a valuable document to Catholics. 1. Though neither of the parties, whose conflicting opinions were here examined, for a moment leaned to Arianism, yet the text examined is one of great importance in the controversy with these sectaries ; we here have several new authorities for ascertaining its interpretation. 2. The Rule of Faith is laid down by this synod to be the same in the Greek

Church, as is held in the Catholic, especially in the dogmatical explanation of texts ; that is, the consent of the Fathers, or the traditional word of God. 3. The judges who are to apply this rule, and pronounce on its results, are the same as we acknowledge—the pastors of the Church. 4. The power of enforcing dogmatical decisions by ecclesiastical censures and penalties, is clearly claimed, and exercised.

But, in addition to the importance and interest of these acts in general, their value is much enhanced by their having preserved for us a passage of St. Amphilochius, bearing upon the important Catholic dogma of the Eucharist. As this great Father is not so well known as many of his contemporaries, it may be useful to give a few of their testimonies to his merit.

St. Amphilochius was bishop of Iconium, in Lycaonia, during the reign of Theodosius. Theodoret relates an anecdote of him, which shows his intrepidity in defending the faith against the Arians. In an audience of the emperor, he entreated him to forbid Arian conventicles within cities. Theodosius, considering the measure harsh, declined complying with his request. The holy bishop retired ; but some time after asked another audience. It was granted ; and as he approached the emperor, and saluted him, he took no notice of his son Arcadius, who had just been named Augustus. The emperor, thinking this an oversight, desired him to return and kiss his son. Amphilochius replied, that it was enough to have honoured *him*. Theodosius was highly incensed, when the bishop exclaimed : “ See, O emperor, how you resent any insult to your son ; do you think, then, that the Ruler of the Universe will less resent the blasphemies and insults uttered against His Son ? ”^b Among the epistles

^b Theod. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. xvi. tom. iii. p. 214, ed. Reading.

of St. Basil are several addressed to St. Amphilochius. In one place he calls him his brother, dear to him, and esteemed above all others:¹ in another he says he admires his eagerness to learn, and at the same time his humility, which makes him apply for knowledge to those whom he is fit to teach.^k St. Gregory Nazianzen calls him "the spotless pontiff, the messenger of truth, and his delight."^l St. Jerome classes him with the two fathers just quoted, as their equal in sacred and profane learning;^m and tells us he had lately heard him read his work on the Holy Ghost.ⁿ

These high encomiums from "those who themselves are praised" must excite a desire to know the belief of this Father upon points of modern controversy; and, though the Catholic can always look forward tranquilly to the discovery of any new ecclesiastical writer, well assured that whoever was the friend of the Gregorys, the Basils, and the Jeromes, must have believed even as they did, yet he must for this very reason feel his heart throb with anxious expectation, as he turns over the pages of any newly-discovered Father. Unfortunately most of the works of St. Amphilochius have perished. Father Combefis, who published them with those of St. Methodius and Andrew of Crete,^o was only

This anecdote, and the belief of the Greek Church that this saint was named bishop by angels in a vision (see the Greek *Menol.* of the emperor Basil, October 19, p. i. p. 127, ed. Urbin, 1727), have been wrought up at great length into his acts, given by Metaphrastes. See these ap. Combefis, *inf. cit.* p. 228, seqq.

¹ De Spiritu S. c. i. tom. iii. p. 1, ed. Maur. 1730. This treatise is, in fact, dedicated by St. Basil to St. Amphilochius.

^k Epist. cxcix. ib. p. 290.

^l Carm. parænet. ad Olympiad. Virg. v. 102, tom. ii. p. 134. Paris, 1611. (See the Roman Martyrol. November 23.)

^m Epist. lxx. ad Magnum Orat. tom. i. p. 427, ed. Vallars.

ⁿ De Viris illustrib. c. cxxxiii. tom. ii. p. 938.

^o SS. Patrum Amphilochii, Methodii et Andreæ Cretens. Opera

able to recover a few sermons, an epistle in verse, and some mutilated fragments preserved by other writers. Among these is a passage from a sermon upon the very text discussed in our council, preserved by Theodoret.^p This was so exactly to the purpose of the synod, that it could not fail to be quoted in its acts. In fact, we find it repeated,^q but fortunately at much greater length; as the portion now first published, contains an expression of great importance.

St. Amphilochius, wishing to explain in what manner Jesus Christ was at once equal and inferior to the Father, gives a great number of antithetic actions of his life, characteristic of the various operations of his twofold nature. These are his words:—

“The Father, therefore, is greater than he who goeth unto him, not greater than he who is always in him. And that I may speak compendiously; He (the Father) is greater, and yet equal: greater than he who asked, ‘How many loaves have ye?’ equal to him who satisfied the whole multitude with five loaves; greater than he who asked, ‘Where have ye laid Lazarus?’ equal to him who raised Lazarus by his word; greater than he who said, ‘Who toucheth me?’ equal to him who dried up the inexhaustible flux of the hæmorrhœissa; greater than he who slumbered in the vessel, equal to him who chid the sea; greater than he who was judged by Pilate, equal to him who

omnia; Paris, 1644. Reprinted with improvements in Gallandus's *Biblioth. Pat.* tom. vi. Ven. 1770, pp. 463, seqq.

^p Ed. Combefis, p. 143, *Bib. Pat.* p. 502. This part of the sermon is in Theodoret, *Dialog.* 1, tom. iv. p. 43. Paris, 1642.

^q Pp. 9, 10, but under the title of sermon against the Arians.

^r It is singular that this member of the sentence is omitted in the printed Greek, but is in the Latin version below. This shows that the omission is a typographical error. The sense likewise demonstrates the necessity of such a member for the antithesis.

freeth the world from judgment ; greater than he who was buffeted, and was crucified with thieves, equal to him who justified the thief free-cost ; greater than he who was stripped of his raiment, equal to him who clothes the soul ; greater than he to whom vinegar was given to drink, *equal to him who giveth us his own blood to drink* ; greater than he whose temple was dissolved, equal to him who, after its dissolution, raised up his own temple ; greater than the former, equal to the latter."

In presenting this text for the first time to the attention of theologians, and, I may almost say, of the public, I may be allowed to offer a few remarks.

1. It will be seen at first sight, that St. Amphilochius places at one side of his parallel those actions of our Divine Saviour which demonstrate His equality with the Father, by proving his omnipotence. Although there was always this wide distinction between the miracles of our Saviour and those of His disciples, that they only professed to act as His ministers and deputies, and through the power of His Name, whereas He boldly professed to do wonders in His own right ; yet could the recital of ordinary miracles have been answered by the Arians, by comparing them with similar ones wrought by the apostles, who noways claimed thereupon any divine attributes. St. Amphilochius, therefore, is careful to give, rising as it were to a climax, such instances as could defy all comparison, and demonstrate the possession of omnipotence. Christ, he says, is shown to be equal to the Father, "*in freeing the world from judgment, in justifying the good thief free-cost, in clothing the soul with grace, in raising himself from the dead.*"* No one will doubt

* This argument from the Resurrection is very strongly put by St. Amphilochius, in his eloquent sermon on that subject.—Bib. Pat.

that these are the strongest illustrations of claim to equality with the Father, which could have been drawn from His sacred life.

2ndly. It is among these miracles of the highest order, among these incontrovertible proofs of our Saviour's omnipotence, that St. Amphilochius places the institution of the B. Eucharist: "He [the Father] is equal to him who GIVETH US HIS OWN BLOOD TO DRINK." St. Amphilochius therefore supposes a miracle, and a miracle of the most stupendous sort, in the B. Sacrament. Did he then believe it to be a mere symbol? But the institution of a symbol requires no claim to omnipotence. Whoever aggregates disciples, or forms a school, may institute symbols. The Pythagoreans and the Egyptian priests had many; the Freemasons and Orangemen have them; yet, in all this, there is no miracle. The sign of the cross is doubtless a most precious and expressive symbol of our Saviour's passion; yet whoever instituted it did not thereby prove or show himself equal to the Father. It is only by his maintaining here the real presence of the Blood of Christ on the Altar, that we can find any coherence and sense in the reasoning of this great teacher.

3rdly. St. Amphilochius uses the phrase τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα, *his own proper blood*. That such is the proper meaning of the phrase will appear from another member of the sentence, where he says, "equal to him who raised up *His own temple*," that is, his body; where the words are, τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐρείπαντος ναόν. Here the force of the argument rests almost entirely on the

ubi sup. p. 487. Indeed, the few remains which we possess of his works, fully establish his claim to the high order in which he is classed by St. Jerome. His eloquence is deep and fervid, and breathes an earnest and impressive piety.

word *οἰκεῖον*, the miracle consists in Christ raising *His own body*; so likewise does this parallelism of phrase throw emphasis on the same adjective in our member of the sentence; and the miracle equally consists in His "giving us *His own blood* to drink." This reasoning entirely excludes the Protestant doctrine.

4thly. The whole of St. Amphilochius's reasoning is rendered still more striking by the peculiar turn of his sentence. For he does not say through it that Christ is equal to the Father, but that the Father is equal to Christ. It is true, that the necessity of keeping a parallel construction to the text, "the Father is greater," drove him to this unusual form, which simply establishes the perfect equality of the two divine persons. Yet it cannot fail to strike the reader as giving greater energy to his reasoning, and obliging him to be more careful in selecting real and sound demonstrations of that equality.

5thly. But there yet remains an important illustration of this text to be made. Should any of my readers turn over to the passage of St. Amphilochius in the publication of Monsignor Mai, he will at once perceive that I have differed from him in my translation of the words on which I have hitherto been commenting; and, as my version is weaker, and seems to give up a strong theological position which that learned scholar has taken, I owe it both to sincerity and to myself, to vindicate the rendering which I have offered. The words of the text are, *ἰσος τοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον οἰνοχοοῦντος αἵμα*. The learned editor has translated these words by, "æqualis ei qui proprium sanguinem ex vino facit;" and has added in a note that here we have a valuable testimony in favour of Transubstantiation.¹ This is indeed true to a certain extent, but not in the manner

¹ Page 10.

which his version implies, a clear explicit declaration of a change. But it is not through a captious desire of finding fault that I enter on a philological examination of these words, nor even because I think such a criticism had better come from a friend than an enemy; but partly from love of truth, partly from fear that any adversary, deceived in the same manner, but with a totally different spirit from the editor, should argue that the composition of the verb modified its meaning, and that οἰνοχοεῖν suggests the idea of wine being present in the Eucharist.

It is indeed true, that this verb in its primary signification means to *pour out*, or *minister, wine*: in which sense, the only one of the lexicons, it often occurs in Homer, and other ancient writers, as Odys. δ 233.

Κέλευσέ τε οἰνοχοῆσαι.^u

But it is no less certain that it became a term of more general acceptance, and was used in the simple sense of *propinare*, to *give to drink at a feast*. Thus we have in the same poet:—

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι Θεοῖς ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν
ΟἶΝΟΧΟΕΙ γλυκὺ ΝΕΚΤΑΡ.^x

And again in the fourth book:—

— Μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη
ΝΕΚΤΑΡ ἘΩΝΟΧΟΕΙ.^y

The commentary of Eustathius upon these passages will put this matter beyond the reach of controversy. Upon the first he says, “You must know, that οἰνοχοεῖν is not properly said of nectar, but only of wine; but it is applied *through necessity* to nectar also, as will be

^u See also O' 322 ; Iliad, β' 127, et al.

^x Il. α' 597.

^y Ib. δ' 3.

declared in the third book; *because there was no more dignified convivial term at the poet's command.* There are other similar expressions; as, *ἐχειρονόμησε τοῖς σκέλεσι.*"² The reference to the third book is perhaps a mistake for the commentary which he gives upon this word, in illustrating the passage, which I have quoted from the fourth; as there is not a word, in the commentary on the third book, upon this expression. These are his words. "But see how he applies improperly to nectar the word *οἰνοχοεῖν*, as was more fully explained in the commentary on the first book; but he uses it now also simply as a convivial word; as if one should say, *he gave him nectar to drink, as if it were wine.*"

We have another passage, which further confirms these observations. This is a verse of Sappho, preserved by Athenæus. Speaking of the gods, whose drink was certainly not wine, she says,—

Καδδ' ἀμβροσίας μὲν κρατῆρ ἐκέκρατο
Ἑρμᾶς δὲ ἔλυν ὄλπιν θεοῖς οἰνοχόησε.^b

² Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν οὐ κυριολεκτεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ νέκταρος, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου τέθεται δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην καὶ ἐπὶ νέκταρος, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ γ' ῥαψωδίᾳ φανήσεται, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐπορεῖν τὸν Ποιητὴν σεμνοτέρας συμποσιακῆς λέξεως. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τινὰ τοιαῦτα, οἶον καὶ τὸ *ἐχειρονόμησε τοῖς σκέλεσι*. Comment. tom. i. p. 302, ed. Pol. Flor. 1730. He continues to comment on the word for several pages, observing that nectar is a liquid nourishment, and consequently can be said *οἰνοχοεῖσθαι*, p. 304. He brings several other examples of similar phrases; as, *ψκοδόμησε πόλιν*. In fact we have in Thucydides *τὰ τεῖχη οἰκοδομησαμένων*.—Hist. lib. vii. p. 451, ed. Wetst.; again, p. 563, lib. viii. We may compare, too, the word *πολιορκέω*: thus we have in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *πολιορκεῖν τὸ φρούριον*.—Antiq. lib. ix. c. xviii. p. 552, ed. Oxon. 1704.

^a *Ορα δὲ, ὅπως, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ α' ῥαψωδίᾳ πλατύτερον ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ νέκταρος οὐκ εὐκαίρως εἶπε τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς καὶ νῦν, ὡς λέξιν συμποσιακὴν ὡς εἴ τις εἴποι ἐδίδου νέκταρ πιεῖν οἷα τινα οἶνον.—Tom. iii. p. 962.

^b Deipnosaph. lib. x. tom. iv. p. 55, ed. Schweigh.

I am far from wishing to embark upon the sea of critical and philological controversy to which these verses may give rise. I must, however, remark—1st, that ambrosia here signifies the *drink* of the gods, or nectar. Athenæus himself quotes the verse in another place, preserved in his Epitome, to prove that ambrosia is put for the beverage, as nectar is by Anaxandrides and Alcman for the food, of the gods.^c Whence Suidas says, νέκταρ καὶ τὸ βρώμα τῶν Θεῶν.^d 2ndly, that no difficulty can be raised from the use of the extraordinary word ἔρπιν, which occurs in another quotation, instead of ὄλπιν, and which Casaubon wished to introduce here. Nothing can be more true than what he proves from Eustathius and Lycophron, that ἔρπιν, or rather, as in Coptic, EΠΙ, did really mean in Egyptian *wine*; for Champollion and Rosellini have found it in hieroglyphics.^e Granting, however, this, on which the learned Schweighauser seems to wish to cast a doubt, the argument of this learned critic appears to leave no doubt that ὄλπιν, and not ἔρπιν, is the true reading; so that the passage in the Epitome to the second book, must rather be corrected from the

^c Epitome, lib. ii. tom. i. p. 148.

^d Tom. ii. p. 605, ed. Kust.

^e Champollion, Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas, relatives au Musée royal de Turin. Prem. Lettre, Paris, 1824, p. 37. He is speaking of the representations on Egyptian monuments of flasks painted red up to a certain height to represent the liquor. In a prayer, supposed by Rosellini to be directed to Athyr, upon a sepulchral monument in the gallery of Florence, the goddess is requested to give the defunct wine, milk, &c. Both are represented by vases with the names of their respective contents written in hieroglyphics round them. Round the first are the *feather*, *mouth*, and the *square*, the phonetic signs of the letters EΠΙ. See the engraving in Rosellini's work, entitled Di un Basso-rilievo Egiziano della I. e R. Galleria di Firenze, ib. 1826, and the illustration, p. 40.

quotation in the tenth.¹ Thus all mention of *wine* is excluded from the text. It must be surely superfluous to prove that the beverage of Olympus had nothing in common with the juice of the grape.

These quotations, especially the express testimonies of Eustathius, sufficiently establish the signification I have attributed to the verb *οἶνοχοεῖν*, of *giving to drink*, especially in a solemn manner, as was done by the *οἶνοχόος* at a feast. As Eustathius observes of Homer, St. Amphilocheus could not have used a more dignified word to express the sacred and awful draught which our Saviour presents us at the altar. At the same time all idea of the existence of wine in the chalice is removed; at least no Protestant controvertist can argue, from the verb selected, that St. Amphilocheus wished to insinuate its being still there.

¹ This argument is chiefly grounded on the use of the participle *ἐλων*, *capiens*, which requires after it the name of some vessel, as *ὄλπιν*, not of a liquor, which would rather have been preceded by *ἀρύων*, *hauriens*, or some such word. *Animadversiones in Athen. Argentor. 1804, tom. v. p. 375.*

Rome, September, 1833.

POPE BONIFACE VIII.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for Nov., 1841.

POPE BONIFACE VIII.

ART. VIII.—*A History of the Italian Republics.* By J. C. L.
DE SISMONDI. London : 1832.

IN the unceasing revolution of time, it is not surprising that persons and events that have been rudely crushed beneath its wheel, should after a while return to light and honour. And it may afford some consolation to observe, that those names which have been subject to this depression and obscurity, when once restored to their proper place, do not incur much danger of losing it again. In no matter or part of history is this more true, than in the history of the Roman pontiffs. The sense of justice which characterizes the present age will be proved to later times by its decisions regarding them, better than by any other historical judgments which it has pronounced and recorded. It is not many years since the condemnation of the entire line of apostolical succession in the Roman See was a matter of course in every Protestant work, theological, historical, philosophical, or moral, which, directly or indirectly, could bring it within its scope. There were no exceptions. The whole series was condensed into a single individuality, which, under the name of "the papacy," was stigmatized with everything that was infamous, and anathematized with everything that was execrable. Like to the tyrant's wish, that the Roman people had only one neck, that so he might enjoy the concentrated zest of cruelty, in

smiting it, was the purpose of Protestant assailants ; who truly gave unity to the idea of the headship of the Church, that so they might strike it with a single blow. At length the dark mass of error and calumny, accumulated through ages, broke, and admitted the light. First, partial exceptions began to be made, certain popes were culled out from the number involved in wholesale condemnation : one was praised as an encourager of learning ; another as an advocate of ecclesiastical liberty ; and so by degrees, till a long succession of pontiffs received the tardy justice of an historical vindication. The progress from Roscoe's *Life of Leo the Tenth*, through Voight, Hurter, and Hock, to Ranke, is a literary fact too recent, and too often described in these pages, to need more than a passing allusion.

Were we desired to assign a cause for this change in the feelings and direction of historians, we should be inclined to attribute much to the noble character of several recent pontiffs, whose lives broke down much prejudice against their order ; not because they were better or wiser than their predecessors, but because the guidance of divine Providence brought forward their characters more prominently before the face of Europe than theirs who had preceded them. Benedict XIV. was a man of higher attainments, and of no less virtue, than the sixth or seventh Pius. There is no doubt that had he, or any other pope of the last century, been placed in *their* trying circumstances, he would have exhibited equal firmness, resignation, and Christian heroism. Opportunity was not allowed to him, as it was to them, and he therefore remains known by his works rather than by his deeds ; the delight of the theologian, the oracle of the bishop, the admiration of the learned ; but compara-

tively without a place or name in history. The noble-hearted Braschi and the meek Chiaramonti were cast into ruder times; the fate of older pontiffs was allotted them. The former had to renew the ancient contest between the supremacy and the empire; not, as formerly, with the open and avowed hostility of feudal rivalry, but in the field, more slippery and less glorious, of diplomatic contention. That legislative tyrant Joseph II. knew how to injure the Church and its liberties better than Henry II. But it only afforded an opportunity for the display of a new class of virtues in that see which had ever been fruitful in their production. The same pope found himself involved in a contest with a republic, unlike indeed the republics of ancient Italy, in which a rooted attachment to the Catholic religion was never destroyed by temporary hostility, but with one which assailed him in rampant infidelity; which aimed at the desecration of what was holy, through hatred of holiness. Every new aggression of this destructive power, justly deemed the public enemy, was matter of interest to Europe; and the wanton treatment of a venerable pontiff, whose unsullied life, amiable manners, and grey hairs claimed universal esteem and reverence, could not fail to conciliate sympathy towards the sufferer, mingled with execration of his oppressors. Pius VI. died, like Gregory VII., in exile. His successor had to continue the struggle, under a more violent, but not less crafty, form; he was at times almost circumvented by the wiles of his imperial enemy, at times almost beaten down by hardships and insult; but the spirit of his race triumphed equally over both; the meek courage of the pontiff was a full match for the power of the modern Attila: his upright humility baffled the policy of his oppressors. It was the captive dove, keeping

at bay and foiling, at once, the falcon and the serpent.

We think that we may truly repeat, that down to this time, a majority of Protestants had never attached any idea of individuality to the name of pope. Their notion seemed to be that of an entity perpetuated under a variety of indefinite names, through generation after generation (Clements, Innocents, and Benedicts succeeding each other, no one knew how),^a living in almost inaccessible grandeur in a terrible place called the Vatican, round which perpetual thunders growled to keep off all intruders; approached only with genuflexions, prostrations, and almost worship; ever enthroned, and with a triple crown upon its head, occupied all day in mysterious conclave, with scarlet, wide-hatted cardinals, upon bulls, indulgences, and excommunications. We will not add the grosser fictions of popular bigotry—but we believe that many well-informed persons did a few years ago entertain, and that perhaps some very respectable ones do as yet entertain, an idea as definite, as sensible, and as liberal of the pope—be he who he may—as we have described. But when Pius VII., stripped of all outward ornaments, torn from his own dominions, an exile and a prisoner, became known to Europe, his personal character, so pure, so holy, yet so noble and magnanimous; so unbending yet so forgiving; so lofty yet so mild;^b softened the hearts of many, if it did not turn them, and made them begin to distinguish in

^a It was a common and often-repeated question of his late majesty William IV. to such Catholics as approached him, "Pray what is the name of the *present* pope?"

^b When Pius VII. was in prison, a nobleman was once sent by the emperor to ask him if there was anything he wanted: "Nothing," replied the pontiff, "except a needle to darn my cassock with."

their minds, the man from the dignity which he adorned, and to know that popes have characters and virtues, and Christian perfection, even beyond most other men.

We do not think that we are wrong in this speculation, that by the events to which we have cursorily alluded, an interest was excited in the public mind, a power of individualizing generated, regarding the papal authority and its possessors, of a different character from what before was common. We believe that many were led to compare the certain virtues of these later pontiffs with the conduct of their predecessors under similar circumstances; and that the selection made of Gregory VII., Sylvester II., and Innocent III., as subjects of special biography and high commendation by Protestant historians, may be attributed, at least in part, to the renewal in later times of the contest between imperial and papal power, the *regale* and *pontificale*, and to the attention thus directed towards similar struggles in a former period. Catholics have been grateful, obsequiously grateful, for this slow-footed, lagging justice, towards their ancient ecclesiastical heroes. Nay, it has been but a lame justice after all, and yet has it been humbly acknowledged. The loftiest, truest view of the character and conduct of the popes has often been overlooked; the divine instinct which animated them, the immortal destiny allotted to them, the heavenly cause confided to them, the superhuman aid which strengthened them, could not be appreciated but by a Catholic mind, and are too generally excluded from Protestant histories, or are transformed into corresponding human capacities, or policies, or energies, or virtues. Then, there are few of the vindicators of these ancient popes who do not contrive to give a savour to their writings, of the

olden leaven,—some acrid or bitter relish, in the form of strong protestations, or harsh declarations against popery, which set one's teeth on edge, when feasting upon the treat afforded us by our new friends. The fault we know is ours; the vindication of our fathers in the spirit should have come from us; it should not have been left to the condescension of adversaries. As it is, we will accept it, not without humiliation; but we will not bow our back to any blows they may think proper to inflict.

We have already enumerated the ancient pontiffs, who in late years have found vindicators among Protestants. There is one upon whom none has yet taken compassion, whom none has attempted to rescue from the mass of general reprobation. Boniface VIII., to whom we allude, has scarcely ever found a good word, even among modern Catholic writers; he is generally reckoned among the *wicked* popes; he is represented as ambitious, haughty, tyrannical, unforgiving, and unrelenting, and at the same time as cunning, deceitful, treacherous, and base. There is not an action of his pontificate, from his accession to his death, that has not been censured as the result of a crime, or as inspired by some unworthy motive. Now, when we consider how he was one of those pontiffs who particularly stood up for the prerogatives of his see, against the rival power of princes, that almost all the charges against him arise from political contests, and that at his death he left his enemies triumphant, and with all the power to injure his memory in their hands, we may naturally be inclined to believe, that the obloquy which yet remains upon his memory is of the same character as that which has been successfully wiped off from the names of other pontiffs, by the industry of modern writers.

In fact, the injurious attacks upon this pontiff commenced during his life, and have been repeated in every age till the present. We will not speak of the infamous libels drawn up in France by William of Nogaret, his capital enemy, and by others who had felt the weight of his pontifical severity. But unfortunately others, whom political feelings arrayed in habitual hostility to the ecclesiastical power, whenever it came in conflict with the secular, helped to invent, or to propagate, false or exaggerated views of his proceedings, and of his character. In one respect, Boniface was indeed unfortunate, in having the poets among his enemies. Fra Jacopone da Todi, whose virtues, on the other hand, attracted the veneration of his contemporaries, has poured out all the bitterness of his nervous satire upon him. But still more, the author of the *Divina Commedia* has contributed to render the memory of this pontiff most unjustly hateful. The Ghibelline poet could not think of sparing so decided a Guelph. Hence he scruples not to call him "the prince of modern Pharisees,"^c and "the high-priest, whom evil take."^d St. Peter is made to call him an usurper, and to charge him with bloodshed and crime;^e and a place is represented as prepared for him, among those condemned to hell for simony.^f We need hardly mention Protestant Church historians, such as the Centuriators or Mosheim, or many civil historians, like Gibbon, Hallam, and Sismondi, who vie with each other in repeating the same tales concerning this great pontiff, copying one another, without

^c "Lo principe dei nuovi farisei."—Inf. xxvii. 85.

^d "Il gran prete a cui mal prenda."—Ib. 68.

^e "Quegli che usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
Il luogo mio, il luogo mio che vaca."—Parad. xxvii. 22.

^f Inf. xix. 52.

taking the trouble to verify the statements, or to weigh the judgments, of those who have preceded them. Of these neglects we shall see some specimens in the course of our present inquiry.

Accustomed, as we have been, to read and hear so much to the disadvantage of this pope, we naturally required some cause, however slight, to turn our attention towards a more particular examination of such grievous charges. The pencil of Giotto must claim the merit, such as it is. The portrait of Boniface by him, in the Lateran Basilica, so different in character from the representations of modern history, awakened in our minds a peculiar interest regarding him, and led us to the examination of several popular assertions, affecting his moral and ecclesiastical conduct. He soon appeared to us in a new light; as a pontiff who began his reign with most glorious promise, and closed it amidst sad calamities; who devoted, through it all, the energies of a great mind, cultivated by profound learning, and matured by long experience in the most delicate ecclesiastical affairs, to the attainment of a truly noble end; and who, throughout his career, displayed many great virtues, and could plead in extenuation of his faults, the convulsed state of public affairs, the rudeness of his times, and the faithless, violent character of many among those with whom he had to deal. These circumstances, working upon a mind naturally upright and inflexible, led to a sternness of manner and a severity of conduct, which, when viewed through the feelings of modern times, may appear extreme, and almost unjustifiable. But after studying the conduct of this great pope, after searching through the pages of his most hostile historians, we are satisfied that this is the only point on which even a plausible charge can be brought against

him; a charge which has been much exaggerated, and which the considerations just enumerated must sufficiently repel, or in great part extenuate.

To give an idea of the summary manner in which Boniface is dealt with, we will quote the account of him given in the little manual at the head of our article.

“After Nicholas IV., a poor hermit, humble, timid, and ignorant, was raised, in 1294, to the chair of St. Peter, under the name of Celestine V. His election was the effect of a sudden burst of religious enthusiasm, which seized the College of Cardinals; although this holy senate had never before shown themselves more ready to consult religion than policy. Celestine V. maintained himself only a few months on the throne; all his sanctity could not serve as an excuse for his incapacity; and the Cardinal Benedict Cajetan, who persuaded him to abdicate, was elected pope in his place, under the name of Boniface VIII. Boniface, able, expert, intriguing, and unscrupulous, would have restored the authority of the Holy See, which, during the latter pontificates, had been continually sinking, if the violence of his character, his ungovernable pride, and his transports of passion had not continually thwarted his policy. He endeavoured at first to augment the power of the Guelphs, by the aid of France; he afterwards engaged in a violent quarrel with the family of Colonna, whom he would willingly have exterminated; and finally, taking offence against Philip le Bel, he treated him with as much haughtiness, as if he had been the lowest of his vassals. Insulted, and even arrested, by the French prince in his palace of Anagni, on the 7th of September, 1303, Boniface died a few weeks afterwards of rage and humiliation.”—P. 106.

This is only an abridgment of what Sismondi has written in his larger *History of the Italian Republics*; and consequently to this work will we look for the manner in which this severe judgment is supposed to be supported. Considering the immense number of authors, contemporary or nearly so, who have related the actions of this pope, considering still more the valuable authentic documents belonging to his reign, which have been published in different works, it cannot be for

want of materials that an erroneous estimate is obtained. It is undoubtedly true, that among the former class of evidence, there is directly conflicting testimony to be found. But then the lowest degree of candour which we have a right to exact from an historian, is information to that effect. We expect to be told that there *is* a very different narrative of events from the one selected, and that it comes from authorities whose value has been scrupulously weighed. We desire to be directed to the place where these may be found and examined, that so we may form our own judgment on the matter. The historian who should give us Herodotus's account of Cyrus, and never allude to Xenophon's, would certainly be reproached for want of fairness towards his readers. It is moreover true, that some accounts come from the pen of decided friends and partisans of Boniface; but the others come from as decided enemies and hearty haters; and can it be just to take all that these assert, without once qualifying their narrative by reference to the other side? And is not this still more grievous, when the adversaries profess to speak from hearsay or common rumour; and the friends were eye-witnesses, and honest men? But what if there be impartial writers, who are as ready to speak against, as for, the conduct of the pope; ought not they at least to have been sometimes referred to?

Then, as to the second class of evidence—documents of the times, official papers, decrees, or processes—the omission of their use must surely be unpardonable in an historian, especially when they serve to clear up doubts, as to whether a favourable or an unfavourable view should be preferred, of characters or events. Yet we shall have occasion to see how sadly all these means of ascertaining the truth have been neglected or

despised by our modern historians, and a one-sided view taken, upon evidence worse than doubtful, nay, certainly less than true.

I. The attacks upon Boniface's character commence with his very accession to the papacy. In order to understand how this is, it may be useful to premise a brief historical sketch.

Pope Nicholas IV. died on Good-Friday, in the year 1292. There was considerable difference among the cardinals in conclave, which led to a vacancy of the Apostolic See, of two years and three months. At the end of this period, all singularly agreed in the nomination and election of a saintly hermit living in the wilds of the Abruzzi, of the name of Peter, whose surname is variously given, by contemporary writers, as *Murro*, *De Murrone*, *De Morone*, or *Morono*. His election took place at Perugia, on the 7th of June, 1294. His reign was of short duration. Instead of at once going to Rome, he wrote to the cardinals, that, on account of the summer heat, he was unequal to a long journey; and, having made his solemn entry into Aquila, he proceeded to Naples. There, after a few months, he resigned the papacy, on the feast of St. Lucy, December 13, and was on Christmas eve succeeded by Cardinal Benedict, of the Gaetani or Cajetani family, who took the name of Boniface VIII. This is the subject of our present inquiry.

His enemies do not wait to see him quietly seated in the chair of St. Peter, before they begin their assaults upon his character. The resignation of Celestine is attributed to his arts; and the means supposed to have been taken by him to secure his own elevation, are represented as most base. Mosheim takes the first point quite for granted. "Hence it was," he writes, "that several of the cardinals, and particularly Bene-

dict Cajetan, advised him to abdicate the papacy which he had accepted with such reluctance; and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility."^a But Sismondi enters more fully into details, and gives implicit credit to all that Boniface's bitterest enemies ever asserted upon the subject. The following is his account of the conduct of the cardinal, during the brief pontificate of Celestine:—
 "Il y en avait un parmi eux [the cardinals], Bénédict Caietan d'Anagni, qui avait soin d'exciter leurs murmures, et d'accroître à leurs yeux le danger que courait la Chrétienté. Cet homme n'avait point d'égaux en adresse et en dissimulation: il avait su, en même temps, flatter les cardinaux, qui le regardaient comme le soutien des prérogatives de leur collègue, et dominer l'esprit de Célestin, qui n'agissait que d'après ses instructions, et qui peut-être n'avait commis tant de fautes que parceque son perfide directeur voulait le rendre odieux et ridicule." After stating that the cardinal offered his services to Charles II. of Naples, if he would procure him the papacy, our author thus continues: "Ensuite il ne s'occupe plus que du soin de persuader à Célestin d'abdiquer une dignité pour laquelle il n'était pas fait. Quelques-uns assurent qu'avec un portevoix, il lui en fit descendre l'ordre comme du ciel. Indépendamment de cette ruse, il avait mille moyens encore de déterminer cet homme simple et timide, dont il alarma la conscience."^b

For all this detailed account the historian quotes no authority; but simply refers for the story of the speaking-trumpet to Ferrettus Vicentinus, the most violent assailer, on every occasion, of the pope's cha-

^a Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. (1826) p. 367.

^b Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age, tom. iv. cap. xxiv. p. 81.

racter. The expression, "*some assert*," with which this fable is introduced by Sismondi, and the reference in the note to Ferrettus, would lead one naturally to suppose that he, among other historians, vouches for the fact. The present tense indicates existing historians. Yet it is not so: that writer himself only gives it as a report;—"ferunt etiam." Any historian ought to have been ashamed to put such a charge, in such a manner, upon such evidence. But this is not the worst. Not only do all the sound evidences of contemporary history contradict this paltry story, but the entire history of Celestine's abdication in Ferretti is so grossly at variance with every other document, and so plainly untenable, that with the exception of it, and the abusive insinuations against Boniface's character, Sismondi has not ventured to follow him here, as elsewhere we shall see he has done. Ferretti tells us, for instance, that Celestine suddenly and unexpectedly made his abjuration before the cardinals, and then ran away the same day to Apulia: whereas he was quietly at Naples, and did homage when Boniface was elected, ten days later. He then relates how Cardinal Benedict cajoled the cardinals and the king of Naples, and had himself appointed nominator of the new pope; and so elected himself. Sismondi without a word quietly rejects all this, and contents himself with saying, that he was chosen by the unanimous suffrages of all the cardinals. So much for the authority of Ferretti—at present—so much for the fairness of M. Sismondi, in referring to authorities. Of this, too, more anon.

The first question which may reasonably be asked, is, "Did Cardinal Cajetan use any unfair arts to induce Pope Celestine to resign?" The second is; "If he used legitimate means, was he not fully justified in doing so?" We premise, that what Sismondi says

regarding the pope's being purposely misled by Cardinal Benedict, is a pure conjecture or invention of his own. We proceed therefore to answer our queries.

1. We say, then, that the most accredited writers of the times do not warrant us in attributing the resignation to this cardinal, or at least, to him more than others, or otherwise than as the organ of the general opinion. Ptolomæus Lucensis, the confessor of St. Thomas Aquinas, who exhibits no partiality for Boniface, gives the history as an eye-witness. He tells us, in general terms, that in consequence of the pope's conduct, the Sacred College suggested to him to resign, that grievous mischief might be avoided. "*Hoc igitur percipientes quidam de collegio jam incipiunt querelari, et Ecclesiæ fluctuationem attendere, ac etiam eidem pontifici insinuare sub prætextu suæ sanctitatis, quantum sibi periculum imminebat Vadens igitur illuc to [Naples] multum stimulat ab aliquibus cardinalibus quod papatui cedat, quia Ecclesia Romana sub ipso periclitabatur, et sub eo confundebatur: quibus stimulis concitatur Sanctus Pater.*"¹ Again: "*Hoc autem non obstante, adhuc aliqui cardinales mordaciter infestant, quod in periculum animæ suæ papatum detinebat, propter inconvenientia et mala, quæ sequebantur ex suo regimine.*"^k

Another contemporary historian, and even eye-wit-

¹ Ptol. Luc. Hist. Eccles. ap. Murat. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tom. xi. lib. xxiv. c. 22, p. 1200.

^k Ibid. cap. 23. Raynaldus, in his continuation of Baronius, quotes a passage from this chapter, which does not occur in the published work. Muratori was its first editor. In this passage Cardinal Cajetan is mentioned by name. It is as follows:—"Dominus Benedictus cum aliquibus cardinalibus Cælestino persuadet ut officio cedat, quia propter suam simplicitatem, licet sanctus vir et vitæ magni foret exempli, sæpius diversis confundebatur Ecclesiæ, in gratiis faciendis et in regimine orbis."

ness of the transactions of the papal court, James Cardinal of St. George in Velabro, known also by the name of Stephanesius, has left us a long poem, with a prose introduction on the resignation of Celestine, and another on the coronation of Boniface. He tells us, in his Introduction, that what he wrote he knew, had seen, and touched with his own hands; for he thus speaks of himself: "*Scito, qui noscere desideras, hunc quidam [esse] qui ex veridica re, veluti præsens, videns, ministrans, palpans, et audiens, notusque pontifici [Cælestino] quin pontificibus carus, impactam compegit metrisque refudit historiam.*"¹ Moreover, the cardinal shows himself particularly attached to Celestine while living, and devout to him after death, as he composed the prayers and responsories for his office.^m His prose account of Celestine's resignation is very brief. It is as follows: "Against the will and dissuasions of some, and particularly of the brethren of his institute [the Celestine monks founded by him], and in spite of their opposition, so soon as he learnt that he might, he showed that he was willing to resign. For in the month of December, on the feast of St. Lucy, virgin, when the report of his abdication had died away, he resigned the honours and burthens of the papacy into the hands of the Sacred College. This resignation, the senate of cardinals, astonished at so wonderful an event, received with great veneration, and shedding many tears."ⁿ But in his poem he goes much more into particulars. He tells us, therefore, that Celestine, conscious of his own incapacity, and finding himself unable to retire, as he desired, into an artificial solitude in his palace, began seriously and with tears, to consider, whether he might

¹ R. I. S. tom. iii. p. 614.

^m P. 615. See the office, p. 668.

ⁿ Ib. p. 616.

not put an end to his anxieties, by retiring from the dignity which caused them. This, he tells us, he learnt from Celestine himself, after his resignation.^o While meditating upon this scheme, he took up a little book, in which he used to find some instruction during his eremitical life, being, by the description, a collection of principles of canon law, adapted for religious men.^p In this he found that a person holding office was at liberty, for just reasons, to resign it; and arguing upon these premises, concluded that he ought to enjoy the same right. One objection alone presented itself: everyone else could resign into his superior's hands, but the pope had no superior. To solve this difficulty, he called in the advice of a friend.^q Perhaps this friend was Cardinal Cajetan; in fact this seems to us most probable. Now he, upon being interrogated, first objected to the pope's proposal, and attempted to dissuade him, against his own conviction of the expediency of abdication.^r He then added, that if there

^o Vitæ S. Cælestini V. lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 638.

^p Cesserat angustum regalis culminis aulæ
In latus, et meditans sibimet lacrymabilis inquit,
(*Ut nos viva Patris docuit vox*)."

The author's own gloss adds: "Scilicet auctorem operis: *nam oratenus sibi dixit quæ sequuntur*, post cessionem tamen."

^q "—— Juris nonnulla docens, excepta labore
Arteve prudentum."—P. 638.

^r "Sed jubet acciri coram, cui fatur, amicum." The gloss: "Amicus ille quem Cælestinus consulebat."—Ibid.

^r "Ille tamen cautus mentem simulare coëgit:

Cur, Pater, his opus est? Quænam cunctatio curam
Ingerit? Optatis obsiste gravare quietem."—Ibid.

A critical humour has come over us, and, though perhaps the passage may not be thought sufficiently classical to deserve the trouble, we will e'en indulge in it. The verse immediately following these words is thus given by Muratori:—

"Hæc præter fundata, Pater, curanda per orbem."

was sufficient cause, he no doubt *could* resign his dignity. "That is enough," the holy pontiff replied; "of the sufficiency of the cause *I* am the proper judge." He then called another counsellor,* and received the same assurance. His mind was thus made up. Now, taking it for granted that the friend called in by Celestine was Cardinal Cajetan, how different is this narrative, by an eye-witness, from the statements of M. Sismondi and others! We learn that the pope was the first to think of resignation; and this fact our poet assures us he had from the pope's own mouth; and he relates the circumstance of the book, not mentioned by other historians,—one most natural, and unlike a mere invention. Then Cardinal Benedict is called in, and, instead of urging him forward, concealing his own thoughts (which we willingly grant were in favour of resignation), en-

The meaning of this is anything but clear. However, it happens that the third word is a conjectural emendation for *funda*, which, besides making no more sense than the substituted word, left the verse short of a syllable. But Rubeus (John Ross), in his "*Bonifacius VIII.*," Rome, 1651, quotes the passage from another manuscript no doubt correctly: "*Hæc præterfienda Pater.*" Though the word is certainly not classical, it makes both sense and metre; and anyone acquainted with the cursive character of that day, will easily understand how *fienda* could be turned into *funda*, and so suggest the necessity of Papebroke's emendation. But what are we to make of the rest of the line? Nothing, we fear, unless we take a liberty such as the editor has had to take with more than twenty places in the chapter. For the text of this poem is most corrupt. We propose, therefore, to read—

"*Hæc præterfienda, Pater venerande per orbem.*"

The word which we amend would be written *vēerande*, and in the close character of the age would easily be altered into the present reading.

* "—— Vocat inde alium quo firmius esset

Consilium. Firmabat idem. Gaudebat anhelus

Presbyter altipotens, statuens in corde relatum."—P. 639.

deavours to dissuade him, but gives such information as confirms the mind of the pontiff; who, however, seeks further advice. Whatever, therefore, may have been the sentiments of Cardinal Cajetan, as to the propriety of the pope's resignation (which, we have no hesitation in saying, *ought* to have been in its favour), there is no appearance here of the base arts by which he is asserted to have raised the idea in Celestine's mind. And surely the statements of one who relates what he saw himself, or, where he speaks of another's motives and acts, what he heard from his mouth, deserved some notice at least—even if only to warn readers that there was such a narrative.

Another contemporary writer confirms one part of Cardinal James's account, that Benedict endeavoured to dissuade Celestine from resigning. Blessed Ægidius Colonna, the disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the particular friend of Pope Celestine and of Philip of France, in his work *De Renuntiatione Papæ*, writes: “Comprobari posse ex pluribus nunc viventibus, Dominum Bonifacium Papam VIII., tunc in Minoribus agentem, et cardinalem tunc existentem persuasisse Domino Cælestino, quod non renuntiaret; quia sufficiebat collegio, quod nomen suæ sanctitatis invocaretur super eos, et pluribus audientibus hoc factum fuit.^t”

If it be said, that so far we have only the testimony of friends, we may ask, in reply, Is not the testimony of friends on the spot, at least as good as that of enemies at a distance? But we will remove this difficulty, by giving that of one who cannot be suspected of partiality for Boniface, and who yet had the most satisfactory means of information. We allude to the anonymous author of St. Celestine's life, preserved in MS. in the secret archives of the Vatican, to which a

^t Cap. xxiii.

slight reference is made by Rubeus,^u but which we have diligently transcribed, with reference to this matter. The title of the work runs thus:—*Incipit de continua conversatione ejus [Cælestini] quæ quidam suus scripsit devotus*. Throughout his work the author shows himself intimately acquainted with the movements and thoughts of Celestine, to such an extent, that we must suppose him to have been one of his intimate companions. He thus relates the circumstances of his resignation. “Adveniente vero quadragesima S. Martini papa ille sanctus decrevit solus manere et orationi vacare, feceratque sibi cellam ligneam intra cameram fieri, et cepit in eadem solus manere, sicut ante facere consueverat.” This construction of a cell in the palace is mentioned by Cardinal Stephanesius,^x Vegius,^y and other writers; the first of whom complains of Celestine’s hiding himself in it from the duties of his station. His disciple thus proceeds:—“Et sic eodem ibi permanente, cepit cogitare de onere quod portabat, et quo modo posset illud abjicere absque periculo et discrimine suæ animæ. Ad hos suos cogitatus advocavit unum sagacissimum atque probatissimum cardinalem tunc temporis Dominum Benedictum, qui ut hoc audivit gavisus est nimium, et respondit ei dicens quod posset libere, et dedit eidem exemplum aliquorum pontificum, qualiter olim renuntiaverunt. Hoc illo audito quod posset papatui libere renunciare, ita in hoc firmavit cor suum, quod nullus illum ab illo potuit remove.” So far the individual friend and disciple of Celestine confirms all that we have learnt from other contemporary writers: first, that his resignation was not suggested even by Cardinal Benedict, still less procured by un-

^u Bonif. VIII. p. 13.^x Ubi sup. p. 638.^y Apud Rub. p. 11.

worthy arts, but was the result of his own reflections; secondly, that Cardinal Benedict was called in by him as his counsellor, and *only* answered him with regard to his *right* to resign. The allusion, in the passage just quoted, to previous cases of resignation is explained by the constitution which he published on the subject,^a and which his successor included in the sixth book of Decretals,^a as well as by St. Antoninus, to refer to the supposed resignation of Pope Clement I. in favour of St. Linus. Our biographer then proceeds to give the account of a procession which took place, upon a rumour of this intention of the pope's getting abroad. Of this likewise we have an account from Cardinal Stephanesius, and another still more detailed from Ptolemæus Lucensis, who tells us that he was in it.^b Many bishops, and all the clergy, at the king's desire, he tells us, were there. Arrived at the Castel Nuovo, where the pope resided, "we called out," he continues, "in the usual form, for his blessing." The pope, out of respect for the procession, came to the

^a We will give the account of this Constitution in the quaint phrase of Paolino di Piero, in his "Cronica," published by Muratori, R.I.S., tom. ii. p. 48.

"In quello anno quello Celestino Papa andò a Napoli: e daddovero egli era uomo molto santo e religioso e di buona vita, e lo Re Carlo li fere grande onore, e ricevettelo graziosamente. Questo feze una nuova Decretale di nuovo, che mai infino a lui non era essuta, che fece che ogne Papa d' allora innanzi potesse rinunziare il Papato per utilità dell' anima sua; e quando egli ebbe questo decreto fatto e fermo, ed approvato per li suoi compagni in presenza dei cardinali si depuose il manto, e rinunziò la Signoria e 'l Papato, e fecene fare carta," &c.

^a Cap. Quoniam de Renunciat. Sanct. Antonin. ap. Raynald. ad an. 1295, tom. iv. p. 155, ed. Mansi.

^b "Quod cum perpendisset rex et clerus, mandat fieri processionem a majori ecclesia usque ad Regis Castrum, cui processioni ego interfui."—H. E. ubi sup. p. 1201.

window with three bishops. After the papal benediction, one of the bishops of the procession came forward, and in a loud trumpet-voice (*voce altissimâ et tubali*), so that all in the square heard him, entreated him not to resign. He replied, through one of his attendant bishops, that he would not do so, unless further reasons urged his conscience. Whereupon the bishop intoned the *Te Deum*, "in the name of the king and the kingdom."^o After relating this event, Celestine's anonymous biographer thus continues:—
 "Audiens et videns idem papa tantam pietatem omnium qui aderant, distulit illam voluntatem: *sed a proposito concepto nunquam recessit, nec fletibus, nec clamoribus, nec etiam rogaminibus*; sed conticuit ad tempus fere octo diebus, ut non molestaretur, et sic per istam sufferentiam omnes credebant illum ab ipso penituisse proposito. Sed infra octo dies,^d convocavit ad se istum quem prædiximus Cardinalem Dominum Benedictum, et fecit se doceri et scribi totam renuntiationem, qualiter et quo modo facere debebat."^o Thus we have a perfect accordance between all persons on the spot, and persons who in two instances had the account from Celestine himself, completely at variance with that which Sismondi prefers.

But this true view of Celestine's resignation is further confirmed on every side. Even Villani does not suppose Boniface to have been the first to suggest it, but makes him come in, after Celestine has himself conceived the idea.^f Nay, strange to say, Ferretti of

^o Ibid.

^d This again agrees with Ptolemy's account, that the procession took place about the feast of St. Nicholas, the 6th of December; the resignation took place on the 13th.

^o Cod. Archiv. Vat. Arm. xii. cap. i. No. 1.

^f "Questi (Messer Benedetto Guatani d' Alagna) si mise d'inanzi al santo padre *sentendo* ch' egli avea voglia di rinunciare il papato,

Vicenza, Sismondi's best ally, agrees in this same view.^g Amalric Augerius, a bitter foe to Boniface, does not hint at his having a hand in the resignation, but attributes it entirely to Celestine's own feelings.^h Other authorities will be given later, but there is one which we cannot forbear quoting. It is that of Petrarch, who may justly be placed as a set-off to the accusations of Dante. In his book, *De Vita Solitaria*, he censures the poet for attributing the resignation of St. Peter Celestine to baseness or cowardice; and proves at length the noble and sublime character of the act. He then proceeds: "I return to Celestine, whose joyful and spontaneous descent, showed how painful and unwilling his ascent had been. *I have heard persons who saw it, relate*, that he fled with such joy, bearing in his eyes and on his brow such marks of spiritual gladness, when he retired from the consistory—now restored to himself and free, that he seemed as though he had withdrawn, not merely his shoulder from a mild yoke, but his neck from the fatal axe; and that his countenance was radiant with an angelic brightness."ⁱ

Such then is, we may say, the unanimous testimony of all who had immediate opportunities of knowing the facts. All concur in freeing Celestine's successor from any suspicion of having forced him, by any unworthy arts, into a resignation. There are, however, one or two minor points in Sismondi's narrative which deserve animadversion, as further evidences of his *dicendoli che facesse una nuova decretale*," &c.—*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. viii. c. 5, tom. iv., Milan, 1802, p. 11.

^g Ubi sup. p. 966.

^h "Item quod cum ipse Cælestinus postea attendisset ipsum non esse idoneum ad regendum hujusmodi papatum . . . idcirco," &c.—*Vitæ Roman. Pontif. R. I. S.* tom. iii. part ii. p. 434.

ⁱ *De Vita Solitaria*, lib. ii. sec. iii. cap. 18.

unfairness. He tells us that Boniface first tried to gain the favour of the king of Naples, by making him the most unbounded offers of service, if he would procure him the papacy ; and that, having deceived the king into a promise of his friends' votes, he began to employ his arts upon Celestine to induce him to resign. Now surely, independent of the untruth of the latter portion of this statement, the whole story at once strikes one as incredible. Cardinal Benedict and Charles were, according to Sismondi, declared enemies, owing to a severe reproof given by the former to the latter, on his interfering in matters of the conclave at Perugia.* At the same time Celestine was the king's subject and devoted friend, had granted him everything he had asked for, and had even, to please him, transferred the papal court to Naples. Charles, according to M. Sismondi, " had acquired the greatest influence over the mind of Celestine."¹ Now, we ask, is it credible that this Cardinal Cajetan, whom Sismondi represents as the haughtiest and most unbending, in his arrogance, of men, would have condescended to court the favour of his enemy ? Or is it not still less credible that he, who was at the same time the most wary, or as his enemies would say, the most astute of statesmen, would think of applying to such an enemy, to assist him in removing from power, to make place for himself, one whose mind that enemy ruled, and of whose friendship he was sure ? But this is not the worst. The only historian who records the interview between Cardinal Benedict and Charles, adopted by Sismondi, is Giovanni Villani, and to him the modern historian refers as his authority ; but mark in what manner ! The Florentine puts the conference *after*

* Ptolem. Lucens. ubi sup. cap. xxxi. p. 1200 ; Sismondi, p. 81.

¹ Page 79.

Celestine's resignation, when the king's influence over his mind could be of no further avail, and when he might be supposed ready to listen to overtures from one so likely to be his successor. But Sismondi makes no difficulty in adopting the story, but arbitrarily changing its date, and placing it anterior to the resignation. This, of course, materially affects the character of Boniface. For, to have solicited suffrages for the vacant papacy would not have borne the same stamp of baseness, as to do so before removing its occupier. For this change Sismondi gives two reasons. First, "it is not likely the cardinal would urge the pope to resign, till he had secured his own succession." We have seen that the resignation was not the result of any such malicious plot as this supposes; we have seen how improbable such a course as this attempt to gain Charles was, in such a man as Boniface. "It is not likely," must be taken with the additional salvo of "in the fictitious character of this pope, wherewith it has pleased Sismondi to amuse his readers." Secondly, an interview after the resignation "was not possible, because the cardinals were then rigidly shut up in conclave."^m Even this is not correct. The cardinals did not go into conclave till ten days after the resignation, and only remained in it one day; for at the first meeting they elected Boniface.ⁿ But if M. Sismondi will have it that Villani's account cannot be placed *after* the papal chair had been vacated, to which we willingly accede, though not for *his* two reasons, we have no hesitation in saying that it could not have taken place *before* that event. For, from the account,

^m Page 82, note.

ⁿ "—— Excusso bis quino lumine Phœbi
Carcere clauduntur."

Stephanes, De Elect. Bonif. VIII., ubi sup. p. 642.

already quoted, of Ptolemy of Lucca, an eye-witness, we see that King Charles sent a procession of bishops and clergy on the 6th of December to entreat Celestine not to resign. And his faithful disciple and companion assures us, that between this time and the eve of his resignation, he perfectly concealed his intention. How can we reconcile this anxiety of the king, to prevent the vacancy of the see, with a plot to dispossess its occupier; or how can his understanding with Boniface be consistent with total ignorance, to the end, of any intention on Celestine's part to resign? But further than this, Cardinal Stephanesius, an eye-witness, informs us, that Charles showed himself bitterly disappointed at the election of Boniface, which was completely contrary to his expectations.* Such is M. Sismondi's way of using his authorities.

As we are on this subject, we may as well mention another instance of this practice of our historian. As a proof of Boniface's arrogance, he relates a well-known tale, of the archbishop of Genoa, Porchetto Spinola, presenting himself for ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and the pope's violently throwing the ashes into his eyes, exclaiming, "Memento quia Ghibellinus es, et cum Ghibellinis tuis in pulverem reverteris." For this story authorities are not wanting. For instance, George Stella, in his *Genoese Annals*, relates it.^p But Sismondi prefers referring his readers to a better-known name; to wit, the learned Muratori, who could not be supposed to sanction the tale, so injurious

* " ——— Caroli spes cepta precando

Defecit, miserante Deo. Sunt ista relatu

Digna, quod et patri nec non sibi præstita noscens

Munera ab Ecclesia, vultus avertit et ora."

De Elect. Bonif. ubi sup. p. 642.

^p Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses, lib. ii. R. I. S. tom. xvii. p. 1019.

to the character of the pope, without being convinced of its truth.^a Would the reader expect that Muratori, in the place referred to, rejects it as a fable? Yet so it is!^r

2. We come now to our second query: "If Cardinal Benedict used legitimate means to induce the pope to resign, was he not fully justified in doing so?"

We have shown that this cardinal used no unfair arts to bring about the resignation of Celestine; but we fully admit that when called in to give his advice, he followed, in the first instance, the natural impulse of any honourable mind, by endeavouring to calm the pope's uneasiness, and dissuade him; but afterwards showed him that it was in his power to lay down his burthen. Moreover, we have no difficulty in admitting, that his own views were (with those of the Sacred College) in favour of the resignation. For attributing a particular ambition to him beyond others, in his sentiments and motives, we have only the warrant of the fact, that he was Celestine's successor. Whoever gains by another's loss will be surely suspected, by his enemies, of having procured this. The inference is not correct; but, unfortunately, in a corrupt world, it is natural. We do not pretend to pry into Boniface's heart: we do not maintain him to have been exempt from those secret and lurking feelings, which subtly seek for self, under the cover of public good. But two things strike us as worthy of remark. First, if Cardinal Cajetan was so deeply ambitious, and so clever withal, as to set his heart upon the papacy while in

^a Page 136, note (1).

^r "Verum hoc fabulam sapit."—Præfat. in Chron. Jacobi de Voragine, R. I. S. tom. ix. p. 3.

another's possession, and resolve upon the unheard-of expedient of forcing him to resign, and to be able in a few days to secure himself the prize, when it had to be won in spite of the king's personal hostility, and with a college of cardinals just "swamped," to use the modern phrase, by an irregular creation of Neapolitan and French cardinals, how comes it that he made no attempt to gain the object of his ambition *before* Celestine's election, when all were wearied with a two years' vacancy,—when there had been no quarrel with Charles,—and when the Roman party had complete preponderance in conclave? Secondly: how are we to account for the immediateness of his election, and the unanimity of the suffrages, but on the supposition that his talents, learning, and other qualities, made him recognised by all his brethren, as the fittest for the sublime post of supreme pontiff. And if so, why either, on the one hand, attribute to the worst motives what may have been the natural consequence of obvious causes, or why, on the other hand, treat a man as more than usually ambitious—nay, as basely so, if he did feel that passion, which few men are without, though far his inferiors in abilities, in position, and in prospects? In other words, why attribute to fraud and intrigue the rise of a man of first-rate talents above his inferiors, as though this was not a usual event,—the result of a constant social law; or why make that man a monster who feels his superiority, and tries to exercise it? Not that, supposing this to be Boniface's case, we wish to justify it:—for the humility which, with the sublimest talents, seeks the lowest place, is the true characteristic of a fit holder of the highest. But we are not seeking to make him out a saint—we are only striving

K K

to vindicate him from foul imputation. Let us, therefore, even grant that he *was* ambitious; our only conclusion must be, that he was, like ourselves, a frail and peccable man.

But to return to our question; we will content ourselves with giving the account of St. Celestine's proceedings during his short pontificate, extracted chiefly from contemporary authors. Thus writes James, archbishop of Genoa, at that time. After telling us that Celestine created at once twelve cardinals "in the fulness of his power," and then one more, contrary to all forms and usages, "in the fulness of his simplicity," he proceeds: "Dabat enim dignitates, prælaturas, officia et beneficia, in quibus non sequebatur curiæ consuetudinem, sed potius quorumdam suggestionem, et suam rudem simplicitatem. Multa quoque alia faciebat, in quibus non sequebatur præcedentium patrum vestigia, nec eorum statuta. Et quamvis non ex malitia, sed ex quadam simplicitate hæc faceret, tamen in magnum ecclesiæ prejudicium redundabant. Quocirca ipse videns suam insufficientiam et inexperientiam, salubri ductus consilio, constitutionem fecit," &c.* The cardinal of St. George enumerates these and other evils. He compelled the monks of Monte Casino to put on the habit of his own order; he created in one day twelve cardinals; seven French, not one belonging to the papal state.^b He tells us that the entire list was made out by Charles; that on the day preceding the nomination, no one knew of the in-

* Chronic. Jannense, R. I. S. tom. ix. p. 54. Franciscus Pipinus has nearly the same words, Chronic. ib. p. 735. He attributes the resignation, however, in part to Boniface, but only from report: "ut nonnulli referunt."

^b To this, in no small part, may be attributed the translation of the Papal see immediately after to Avignon.

tended creation, which was quite unexpected. Again, he writes,—

“O quam multiplices indocta potentia formas
Edidit, indulgens, donans, faciensque recessu,
Atque vacaturas concedens atque vacantes.”^u

Another grievance (in which we do not agree with the cardinal) was his reviving the severe constitution of Gregory X., respecting inclosure in conclave, which his successor Boniface confirmed. Ptolemæus Lucensis, who, as we before said, was no friend of Boniface's, thus describes Celestine's administration, after having passed a high eulogium on his virtue: “However, he was often deceived by his officers, with regard to favours granted, of which he could have no cognizance, as well through the powerlessness of old age (for he was in a state of decrepitude), as through his inexperience of government, with regard to frauds and the tricks of men, in which the curials are much versed. Hence the same favours were found to have been granted to two, or three, or more persons, even on blank but sealed parchments.”^x

The *Milanese Annals* thus speak of him: “Plura alia faciebat quæ in magnum scandalum Ecclesiæ redundabant. Qui videns suam insufficientiam decretum edidit et post pauca papatui renunciavit.”^y It would be easy to multiply testimonies; but these will suffice, to prove the unfitness of Celestine for the sublime office and dignity to which he had been raised, entirely through the fame of his virtue,—fitter for a desert than for the Apostolic See,—by persons who had

^u Ubi sup. p. 649.

^x Ubi sup. p. 1200. The last clause, we suppose, means that his seal was procured by his officers for blank deeds, which they fraudulently filled up.

^y *Annales Mediolan*, R. I. S. tom. xvi. p. 683.

never seen him, and, with the exception of the cardinal who proposed him, and who died before the pope's coronation, knew nothing of his qualifications beyond the austere holiness of his life.

There are two points which we must briefly touch upon, because they confute some erroneous views of modern historians. One is the grievous thralldom which he nearly brought upon the Church, by transferring the residence of the Roman court to Naples, at the instigation of Charles, and creating cardinals to any amount which the king chose,—showing himself in every way his subject. This was indeed a serious evil, and one to warrant his advisers in recommending him to resign a power, which he could so easily be induced to sacrifice, or rather to betray. But at the same time, what a confutation we have here of Sismondi's most unsupported and most unwarrantable insinuation,—that Celestine probably committed so many mistakes, only because his perfidious adviser purposely led him into them! Can we imagine a prudent and sagacious man, like Boniface, trying to dispossess another of power, by advising him to strengthen the arm and influence of his own enemies? Had Boniface, who was a decided *Roman* in every respect, guided Celestine in everything, from the beginning, as Sismondi would have us believe, surely he would have induced him to go to Rome, and not to Naples; he would have filled the Sacred College with his own friends, and not with the subjects and creatures of the party hostile to him. The second point is, that Celestine threatened great mischief to religion by the liberality with which he scattered spiritual favours, particularly indulgences. Hence, almost the very first act of Boniface was to recall one most ample concession of this character, in favour of the church

of our Lady de Collimadio, near Aquila,* and to suspend all other such grants, till further examined.^a Now let us hear Mosheim tell us, that “the austerity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration (which showed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the Church, than the increase of its opulence and the propagation of its authority), that he was almost universally considered unworthy of the pontificate.”^b This is really too bad ! Not only is this description void of the slightest contemporary authority, nay in stark contradiction to every such authority, but it is in direct opposition with the principles of the writer. For surely, as a Lutheran, he could not consistently hold the lavish concession of *indulgences* to be the best way of advancing “the *reformation* and purity of the Church.” Yet this liberality is particularly characteristic of Celestine’s government.

In conclusion of this portion of our subject, we will quote Sismondi himself as sufficient authority for our position, that Cardinal Benedict had sufficient grounds for counselling Celestine to abdicate, if he used only legitimate means for the purpose. “Bientôt,” he writes, “Célestin donna des preuves plus éclatantes encore de son absolue incapacité pour gouverner l’Eglise.”^c Surely absolute incapacity for an office, makes it matter of conscience to resign it. Hence the

* Raynaldus observes that the grant was made quite in an unusual form.—Annal. ad an. 1294, p. 145.

^a Regest. Bonif. VIII., in Arch. Vat. Epp. 75 et 120.

^b Ubi sup. p. 367.

^c Ubi sup.

best friends of Celestine considered his resignation to be the result of a divine inspiration, approved by miracles, and by prophecy, through his announcing to Benedict that he should succeed him. To avoid further prolixity, we will only quote his anonymous friend and biographer before referred to ; who having related the miracles wrought in ratification of the abdication, thus continues : "Post hæc collegerunt se cardinales ad electionem alterius papæ, et ille qui esse debebat hic vir sanctus [Celestine] prædixit et intimavit Domino Thomæ quem ipse fecerat cardinalem, et Domino Benedicto qui fuit electus in papam. Electo igitur papa illo videlicet quem pater sanctus prædixerat, statim ad illum introivit, et ejus pedes osculatus est."^d

Every little circumstance connected with Boniface's accession to the pontifical throne is made matter for carping censure. Thus, when he rode in procession at his coronation, a modern publication quotes it as a proof of his pride, that two kings (Charles of Naples, and his son, called the king of Hungary) walked by his stirrups.^e Now it so happens that Celestine, whose humility Protestant historians extol beyond their wont, that so they may the better depress Boniface, though he would only, on a similar occasion, ride on an ass, was attended by the same princes ;^f who, in fact, came as feudatories of the Holy See, as well as to pay a willing homage to the successor of St. Peter.^g

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed explanation of Boniface's conduct towards his predecessor.

^d Fol. 41.

^e Rees's Encycl. "Bonif. VIII."

^f "Intumidus vilem Murro conscendit asellum,
Regum fræna manu dextra lævaque regente."

Stephan. p. 684. See also Raynaldus.

^g "Hi reges sociare patrem venere volentes ;
Jure tamen ; nam sceptrâ tenet vassallus ab ipso
In feudum Siculus."—De com. Bonif. ib. p. 650.

The account in Sismondi is indeed highly coloured, but it proves some important admissions. One is, that numbers of persons, especially in the Neapolitan territories, would not admit the lawfulness of Celestine's resignation, but would continue to consider and treat him as pope.^h Another is, that he was an easy tool in the hands of any party, by means of which a schism might have been raised in the Church—an event not at all improbable in the actual disposition of some states; and in fact, attempted, as we shall see, by the Colonnas and France.ⁱ Further, we see that the holy, but weak-minded man, under the advice of his friends, repeatedly endeavoured to defeat the pope's plan of having him in Rome, and several times escaped from his conductors. The result was, that Boniface put him in a place of safety—the castle of Fumone. Sismondi's account leads us to suppose that the good old man was treated with unnecessary rigour in his confinement. This is not correct. A feudal tower in Italy at that age was certainly at best but a comfortless tenement,

^h Sismondi, p. 86.

ⁱ Dante evidently expresses this feeling as a Ghibelline, when he makes St. Peter call Boniface a usurper. George Stella, no friend of Boniface's, of whom he says, "*Alti cordis, iracundus et rigidus erat idem Bonifacius*" (inf. cit. p. 1020), thus gives the same reasons for Boniface's proceedings as the authors quoted in the text:—

"*Is autem, dum iter ageret, sui Redemptoris exemplo, sedens asello pergebat. Tum illico summi pontificii pertæsum est: unde quia ad hæc se ut virum simplicem non sentiebat idoneum, ut quidam dicebant, vel quia cernebat amplius eremo posse mereri, constituit ut ipse, et qui simili casu forent, pontificalem possent sedem relinquere. Eam liquit igitur . . . et elegit in solitudinem redire suetam. Verum expertus et scientificus valde Benedictus de Anagria [Bonifacius] nuncupatus Octavus . . . inhibuit ne discederet ipsum jubens custodire ad evitanda scandala, si a quibusdam idem Cælestinus iterum haberetur in papam.*"—Georgii Stellæ *Annales Gen. R. I. S.* tom. xvii. p. 1026.

and so far the confinement was rigorous. But we must judge by the feelings of that age, and not by our own. Ptolemy of Lucca thus writes:—*Sed Bonifacius post ipsum nuntios seu veredarios transmittit ad ipsum detinendum, et inventum ipsum reducunt, et in custodia ponitur et tenetur, pro cavendo scandalo Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quia apud aliquos dubitabatur an cedere potuisset, et sic poterat schisma in Ecclesia generari. Tentus igitur in custodia non quidem libera, honesta tamen, in castro ut dicunt Fumonis . . . moritur.*"* Giovanni Villani gives a similar account, which we must needs give in his own rich and racy Italian, merely assuring the Cisalpine reader, that its sense coincides very accurately with our last quotation, respecting the motives which induced Boniface to secure the person of Celestine, and the character of his "courteous custody."—"Ma poi il suo successore messer Benedetto Guatani detto di sopra, il quale fu dopo lui chiamato Papa Bonifazio si dice e fu vero, che fece pigliare il detto Celestino alla montagna di santo Angelo . . . ove s' erra ridotto a fare penitenza, e chi disse che ne volea andare in Schiavonia; e privatamente nella rocca di Fumone in Campagna *il fece tenere in cortese prigionia*, acciò che lui vivendo non si potesse opporre alla sua elezione, però che molti Cristiani teneano Celestino per diritto e vero papa, non ostante la sua rinunzia, opponendo che sì fatta dignità come il papato, per niuno decreto si potea rinunziare, e perchè santo Clemente rifiutasse la prima volta il papato i fedeli il pur teneano per padre, e convenne pure che poi fosse papa dopo santo Cleto."

The cardinal of St. George goes even further than this; and assures us that, on the one hand, Boniface received and addressed Celestine with kindness, and

* Ubi sup. p. 1202.

¹ Ubi sup. p. 12.

offered him every comfort in the place chosen for his custody; but that the holy hermit declined any such alleviation, and preferred leading a penitential and eremitical life in his prison. “Post aliquid spatii, eundem quondam Cælestinum, ad Græciæ remotas tendentem plagas, ut littoribus Vestiæ civitatis maris Adriatici inventum forte comperit (quatenus orbis sui Ecclesiæque discrimina vitaret) solemnioribus a se Siciliæque Carolo II. rege transmissis nuntiis consentientem, Anagniam meare facit, *blande suscipit*, laudemque exhibuit acquiescenti Præsulis monitis castro Fumonis Campaniæ provinciæ morari. Ubi assuetam sicut prius vitam agens eremiticam, *nolens laxioribus quibus poterat uti*, . . . mortem vitæ commutavit.”^m In his metrical account he is even more explicit, but repeats the same account of the kind reception given by Boniface, and the offers of every comfort declined by Celestine.ⁿ

Without once deigning to allude to these or other similar authorities, M. Sismondi, by way of justifying the account which he gives of the severity of Celestine’s imprisonment, says in a note: “Ce récit est tiré d’une vie de Célestin V., par Pierre de Aliaco, cardinal, *son contemporain*.” It is not perhaps easy accurately to define what degree of proximity in time constitutes historical contemporaneousness. But we think that our readers will hardly allow the term to be applied to persons, one of whom was born fifty years after the other’s death. Now Celestine died in 1296, and Cardinal Peter D’Ailly, or De Alliaco, was born in 1350, and took his degree in 1380. His life of Celestine was therefore probably written nearly a hundred years after his death, and its author could not have either personal cognizance or direct testimony of eye-

^m P. 616.ⁿ P. 658.

witnesses, for a single fact in his narrative. Moreover, he lived always in France, and belonged to the party hostile to Boniface's memory—the Gallican party. But the authors whom we have quoted, but whom the French historian does not allude to, were truly contemporaries, living at the time, in the place, and having personal knowledge of facts. Why is the former preferred? Simply, we are bound to answer, *because* he is unfavourable to Boniface; because the unfavourable view is more *piquant*, more romantic, more highly flavoured for the palate of such readers as historians like M. Sismondi cater for. Even Mr. Hallam allows himself to be turned aside from true historical dignity and impartiality, by the temptation of such fare. For instance, he relates a story of Boniface's appearing at the Jubilee clad in imperial robes, and wearing a diadem on his head, adding the caution, "if we may credit some historians," and acknowledging in a note that he has "not observed any good authority referred to for the fact." Yet he says he is inclined to believe it, because "it is in the character of Boniface!"^o Such, alas! is too often modern history. The very historian whose duty it is to hold the impartial balance between opinions, admitting no weight into either scale, save sound evidence, is tempted to embrace an opinion, because in harmony with a view of character which he has taken, or formed upon the very evidence of such spurious tales. The enemies of Boniface pronounced him proud, haughty, and disdainful, *because* he did such acts as this tale supposes. These are found untenable on historical evidence, but the false character which they have bestowed is no less kept up—and then the facts themselves are admitted upon it.

^o Europe during the Middle Ages, 3rd ed. vol. ii. p. 322.

II. Hitherto we have been engaged with the commencement of Boniface's pontificate. Gladly would we transcribe for our readers the magnificent declaration of doctrine which he laid upon the high altar of St. Peter's basilica, on the day of his coronation. But we must pass it by, only referring such as wish to see it, to the learned continuator of Baronius.^p To him likewise we send such as wish to be fully instructed in the great public transactions of Boniface's pontificate. In the documents so carefully given by him, they will find ample materials for correcting the erroneous views too commonly given of the pope's treatment of other nations. They will find, for instance, that the whole of his negotiations, and the exercise of his influence and power were directed, not to the sowing of dissensions, the excitement of feuds, or the kindling of war; but to the pacification of Europe, the succour of oppressed princes and prelates, and the adjustment of differences between contending states. He had not been many days upon the throne before he at once turned his attention to the wants of every part, from Sweden to Sicily and from Spain to Tartary. The vigour displayed by him in all his measures, his efforts to gain by mild persuasions, and, when these failed, by energetic steps, appear in every page of his *Register*, and may be traced in the documents extracted from them by the diligence of Raynaldus. We could hope to add but little to what he has collected; though we would willingly go into some of the principal occurrences of the pontificate, especially the transactions of Sicily. However, we have undertaken to treat principally of the personal character and conduct of Boniface; and we therefore hasten on to a part of his life which has been more especially mis-

^p Raynaldus, tom. xiii. p. 164.

represented; we mean the contest between the pope and the noble family of Colonna, his supposed persecution of it, the destruction of their fortress and city of Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, and his consequent sufferings and death.

We will introduce the subject by a concise but candid analysis of Sismondi's narrative of the contest, and then proceed to examine it by documentary evidence. He tells us, therefore, that the occasion on which Pope Boniface most betrayed the violence of his character, was in this affair; the events of which he enumerates as follows :

1. There were in the Sacred College two cardinals of the illustrious house of Colonna (Peter and James), who had been opposed to the election of Boniface, and only tricked into approving of it. He cites the authority of Ferretti and Pipino. They were sufficiently powerful to be able to manifest their discontent.

2. The enmity of Boniface probably drove them to espouse the part of the kings of Sicily (Arragon); at least this was the pretext seized by him for issuing a violent decree against them, in which he deposed them from their cardinalitial dignity.

3. The Colonnas answered this violent bull by a manifesto, in which they declared that they did not recognize Boniface for pope or head of the Church; that Celestine had no right or will to abdicate, and that the election of a successor during his lifetime was necessarily null and illegitimate.

4. This manifesto increased the pope's rage; and he confirmed his former sentence, and issued a declaration of war against the Colonnas, in form of a crusade. An army was sent, under the direction of two legates, and many cities belonging to the family were taken. Palestrina, however, defied their efforts.

5. Upon this, Boniface sent ("we are assured") for the celebrated general Guido of Montefeltro, now become a Franciscan friar, to come to the siege. "He ordered him, by virtue of his vow of obedience, to examine how the town might be reduced, promising him at the same time a plenary absolution for whatever he might do or advise contrary to his conscience. Guido yielded to the solicitations of Boniface; he examined the fortifications of Palestrina, and, discovering no way of gaining possession of them by force, returned to the pope, and begged of him to absolve him still more expressly of every crime he had committed, or that he might commit in giving his advice; and when he had secured that absolution, he said: 'I see only one course; it is, to promise much and perform little.' After having thus advised perfidious conduct, he returned to his convent."

6. Boniface, in consequence, offered to the besieged most advantageous terms; promised favour to the Colonnas, if in three days they appeared before him. The city was delivered up, but the perfidious counsel was followed.

7. The Colonnas received secret warning, that, if they appeared before Boniface, their lives would be taken; and they fled to distant countries.^a

We really doubt whether history could match this narrative in partial and unwarranted statements. We will examine it part by part.

First, then, the whole recital of the origin of the differences between Boniface and the *Colonnese* (as they are usually called) is quite erroneous. The two cardinals did not oppose his election; neither were they tricked into giving him their votes. Our grounds for these assertions are the following:—1. The narra-

^a P. 136, *seqq.*

tive of Ferrettus is a mere fable, the fiction of some enemy, unsupported, or rather denied by sound testimony; in fact, Sismondi has done no more than here allude to it in general terms. 2. On the other hand, in the instrument drawn up by the cardinals Colonna, and forwarded to every part of Europe, containing their reasons for disallowing Boniface's election and right to the pontificate, though they vaguely hint at unfair practices in procuring Celestine's abdication,^r they never once allude to any irregularity in Boniface's election. Now had such a disgraceful trick been played upon the Colonnas, as Ferrettus's narrative supposes, it would have cast serious doubts, at least in an enemy's eye, upon the validity of the nomination. This silence is surely of great weight. 3. Boniface himself, on the other hand, in his reply to the Colonna libel, declares that those very cardinals gave him their votes in the usual form, by scrutiny:—"Nec possent supradicta [acts acknowledging him for the true pope] metu proponere se fecisse, qui nos in scrutinio, more memoratæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium elegerant, et nominaverant eligendum in papam, quando de nobis timendum non erat."^s Would Boniface have ventured to assert this (which moreover they never contradicted, either then or afterwards, in his process) to their faces, if his election had been grossly irregular, and he had not been chosen by suffrage, but had named himself pope? 4. Cardinal Stephanesius informs us that Celestine was chosen pope by *scrutiny* and *accession*,

^r The very way in which this document speaks of these reported practices, confirms what we have written above concerning the allegations on this subject. "Item, ex eo quod in renuntiatione ipsius multæ fraudes et doli . . . intervenisse *multipliciter asseruntur*."—Ap. Raynald. p. 227. Could enemies, who were on the spot, get no better evidence, when wanted for such a purpose?

^s Bonif. Bulla. ap. eumd. p. 231.

the usual modes—the cardinals being wonderfully unanimous in their election.⁴ 5. St. Antoninus expressly tells us that the two cardinals Colonna were among the first to give Boniface their votes.⁵

2. Did the enmity of Boniface drive them to take part with the king of Arragon? We answer that Boniface showed no such enmity. Soon after his election, he became the guest of the family, trusting himself confidently into their castle of Zagarolo, and being treated, as he himself acknowledges, with marked kindness.⁶ We find also in the *Regesta* of Boniface, in the Vatican Archives, favours granted to them, in the second year of his pontificate.⁷ What then was the origin of the feud, and on whose side did the fault lie? We answer, that its origin was twofold, and the blame entirely with the cardinals. According to Sismondi, the contest was one between the pope and that noble family; whereas the commencement was a family quarrel, in which appeal was made to the pope. Cardinal James Colonna had three brothers, Matthew, Otho, and Landulf, who were co-heirs with him in the vast possessions of the family. By an instrument dated April 28, 1292, preserved in the Barberini Archives, and published in an interesting, and an important work, for this portion of history,⁸ these three gave up the administration and possession of all the estates to the cardinal; with an understanding of

⁴ “In summum pontificem scrutinio, accessioneque eligitur.”—P. 617. Vid. lib. i. cap. i. De elect. Bonif. p. 642.

⁵ Chronic. ad an. 1295, pa. iii. tit. 20.

⁶ “Et post electionem . . . in castro tunc ipsorum, quod Zagarolum dicitur, et quod per dictum Jacobum tunc temporis tenebatur . . . hospitati fuerimus, confiderenter,” &c.—Bonif. ubi sup. p. 221.

⁷ Regest. vol. ii. No. 442. “Dispensat. Jacobo nato nobilis viri Pet. de Columna, clerico Romano.”

⁸ Petrini, *Memorie Prenestine*. Rome, 1795, 4to.

course that he was to administer for their joint benefit, though without any obligation of rendering them an account of his administration. The cardinal kept entire possession, so as to leave his brothers in absolute indigence.* Thereupon they appealed to the pope, who justly enough took their part, and called in vain upon their brother to do them justice. This is mentioned in the bull of deposition against the cardinal; but Sismondi never alludes to it. To read him, one would imagine the Colonnas were every way innocent, and the most wronged men on earth; and Boniface exclusively the tyrant. So far was Boniface's quarrel from being against the entire Colonna family, that one of the brothers, Landulf, was named by him a captain in the expedition against Palestrina.^b The second source of strife was the one mentioned, with some doubt, by Sismondi,—the decided partizanship shown by the Colonnas for the house of Arragon, then at war with the pope. Our historian would naturally lead us to suppose, that Boniface's bull against them was the first step taken in their case. Now, *audi alteram partem*; let us hear the pope's own statement. He tells us that Frederick of Arragon had sent emissaries into his dominions to stir up enmity to him, and that they had met countenance and favour from the family of Colonna, and had been aided and assisted by it; that he, according to the principles of the Holy See, ever more prone to kindness and forgiveness than to severity, now strove to gain them by addressing them with fatherly kindness, now to persuade them by

* "Considerantes fore indignum, ut quibus de una substantia competit *æqua successio*, alii abundanter affluent, alii *paupertatis incommodis ingemiscunt*, quos tatem [the cardinals] rationibus, pre-sibus siv. minis nequivimus emollire."—Bonif. Bull. ap. Rayn. p. 1297.

^b Ap. Petrini, p. 419.

words of charitable correction ;^c and, these failing, held out to them severe threats ; showing them the shaft pointed, before it was released from the bow. But nothing availed, and the pope therefore proceeded to demand, as a pledge of their fidelity, the custody of their castles, a right constantly claimed by liege lords, when having reason to doubt their vassal's faith. This they refused, and the pope had recourse to further steps, but not at once.^d

3. The document from which we extract these public declarations of Boniface's, is the one which Sismondi calls a violent bull, and which he tells us they answered by a manifesto denying the pope's title to the papacy. He is as accurate as usual : the Colonna manifesto was issued, within a few hours, at the same

^c "Eos studuit (Apost. sedis benigna sinceritas) nunc paternæ lenitatis dulcedine alloqui, nunc verbis charitativæ correctionis inducere."—Bonif. Bull. ap. Rayn. p. 225.

^d Boniface never alludes to an outrage said by many contemporaries to have been committed against him by Sciarra Colonna, in waylaying and plundering the papal treasury. This silence may seem a sufficient denial of the fact ; but we think it right to quote some out of many authorities in favour of its correctness :—

"Nam et ipse dicebat quod Stephanus [Sciarra] de Columna suum thesaurum fuerat deprædatus : propter quod inter ipsum Bonifacium et dictos Columnenses summa discordia extitit suscitata."—Amalricus, R. I. S. tom. iii. pt. ii. 435.

"In Roma fu grandissima divissione e questione e guerra tra Papa Bonifacio VIII., e quei della Colonna, perocchè i Colonnessi rubarono un grandissimo tesoro al detto papo."—Cronica di Bologna, ib. tom. xviii. p. 301.

"Eodem anno Columnenses Romani accesserunt et derobaverunt magnum thesaurum auri et argenti Dno Papæ Bonifacio."—Chronicon Estense, ib. tom. xv. p. 344, most hostile to Boniface.

"Nobiles etiam de Columna inimicos habebat, contra quos processit, quia Stephanus de Columna ipsius papæ fuerat prædatus thesaurum."—Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses, lib. ii. ib. tom. xviii. p. 1020.

time as the bull; it probably had the advantage of being the first out. But we must fill up one or two important omissions of M. Sismondi. One would naturally conclude from his narrative, that the denial of the pope's rights was imagined by the Colonnas in revenge or retort for the bull. Now let us look a little at the chronology of events. Let the reader bear in mind that this document abridged by Sismondi, bears date the TENTH OF MAY, 1297. So open were the declarations of the two cardinals, uncle and nephew, against the validity of Boniface's election, before this period, that on SATURDAY, THE FOURTH of that month, the pope had sent John of Palestrina, one of his clerks of the chamber, to Cardinal Peter Colonna, summoning him to appear that very evening before him; because it was his wish to put the question to him, in the presence of the other cardinals, whether or no he held him to be true pope. The prelate conveyed the message; but the two cardinals, instead of obeying, fled, with many of their family, that night, from Rome.* This message the Colonnas themselves admit to have been sent to them, in their libel or manifesto.[†] Where they concealed themselves at first is not known; but this is certain, that at daybreak on THE TENTH, they were at Lunghezza, a house belonging to the Conti family, in company with the apostolic writer Giovanni da Gallicano, two friars minor, Deodato Rocci of Monte Prenestino, and the singular, and afterwards most holy, Jacopone da Todi, and a notary of Palestrina, Domenico Leonardi, who, by their order,

* Pierre du Puis, *Histoire particulière du grand Différend entre Bonif. VIII. et Philip le Bel.*—Thuan. Append. tom. vii. p. ix. p. 33.

[†] "Dicendo vos velle scire utrum sitis papa, prout in mandato per vos facto, si mandatum dici debet, per mag. Joannem de Penestre clericum cameræ continebatur expresse."—Ap. Raynald. p. 228.

wrote the manifesto, denying Boniface to be pope, which Sismondi speaks of as an answer to a bull published at Rome, twelve miles off, the same day, and probably later in the day! This libel, as contemporaries justly call it, they sent in every direction,^a and even had affixed to the doors, and placed on the high altar, of St. Peter's Church.^b Is it a wonder that after this bold act of defiance against Boniface's power, both spiritual and temporal, he took up both swords, and proclaimed war against his contumacious clergy and rebellious vassals? His invitations to his friends were obeyed; the neighbouring states sent him troops,^c or seized, like the people of Forli, the castles belonging to his enemies;^d and soon Palestrina alone remained in their possession.

4. This city has been all along the stronghold of

^a Bernardus Guido thus writes of it :—"Diende Domini Jacobus et Petrus de Columpna, patruus et nepos cardinales videntes contra se motam papam, libellum famosum conficiunt contra ipsum, quem ad multas partes dirigunt, asserentes in eodem ipsum non esse papam, sed solummodo Cælestinum. Unde citati a Bonif. Papa non duxerunt comparendum, et facti sunt contumaces."—R. I. S. tom. iii. p. 670. This would seem to allude to some libel even prior to the summons through John of Palestrina. Amalricus Augerius thus describes it :—

"Jacobus patruus et Petrus ejus nepos de domo Columnensium tunc Ecclesiæ Romanæ cardinales contra ipsum Bonifacium quandam libellum famosum composuerunt, et ad plures et diversas partes ipsum transmiserunt, et publicari fecerunt; asserentes in ipso libello dictum Bonifacium non esse papam, sed Cælestinum Papam V., quem captum ipse detinebat."—Ibid. p. 435.

^b Histoire, &c. ubi sup. p. 34.

^c For instance, Florence : "Il commune di Firenze vi mandò in servizio del Papa seicento tra balestrieri e pavesari crociati con le sopransegne del commune di Firenze."—Giov. Villani, ubi sup. p. 37. Simon della Tosa Cron. sub anno 1297. Orvieto likewise, as Manenti informs us, and Matelica, did the same.—Ap. Petrini, p. 148.

^d Annales Foroliv. R. I. S. tom. xii. p. 174.

the Colonnas, the nest in which all their treasons had been hatched, the refuge to which they could flee in security; Boniface, therefore, turned all his forces against it. On this point we have no comment to make.

5. But now comes the sad history of Guido of Montefeltro. First, let us ask, what historical authority there is for the tale of perfidy, which Sismondi with great "assurance" relates, of Guido's being at all present at the siege, or giving any such advice as he attributes to him? He quotes, indeed, three vouchers—Dante, Ferrettus, and Pipino;¹ virulent enemies of the pope. Between the narratives of the two latter there are glaring contradictions, one at least of which we shall have occasion to see; and Ferrettus, as Muratori well observes, had no better voucher or guide for this tale than the poet, whose very words he quotes. Moreover, through the whole of his narrative about Boniface, he evidently writes from hearsay and calumnious reports, using such expressions as "they say,—it is reported;" as the learned Italian critic observes. Nay it is, in truth, rather startling to find Sismondi referring for his authorities to the pages of Muratori, and never even hinting that their sagacious publisher in both places rejects, as mere fictions and calumnies, the very passages for which he refers. Thus he writes on Ferrettus:—"Quæ hic habet Ferrettus de Bonifacio VIII. et Guidone antea Montis Feretri Comite pervulgata jam sunt; eadem enim paucis ante Ferretum annis literis consignarat Dantes Aligherius. . . . *Sed probrosi hujus facinoris narrationi fidem adjungere nemo probus velit.* . . . Ferrettus hæc a satyrico poeta ambabus manibus excepit, quippe et is ad maledicendum pronus. A quo autem fonte hauserit hic

¹ Page 140.

auctor universam ejusdem pontificis historiam, *contumeliis ubique ac pœne maledictis contextam* conjicere poteris, Lector [might he not be speaking in anticipation of a more modern work ?], ab illis verbis quæ aliquando intermiscet, *dijudicant, ferunt*; ea siquidem procul dubio indicant *iniquos vulgi rumores corrupti a famosis, ut aiunt, libellis* Columnensium urbe depulso-
 rum. Ceterum illustres ipsius virtutes, et præclare gesta enarrant coævi scriptores apud Rainaldum, quem vide."^m Yet this author, so characterized by Muratori, is the one whom Sismondi implicitly follows, without even intimating to his readers that there exists any other account! But did Guido of Montefeltro come to the siege, or give the perfidious advice attributed to him by Dante? We see many very strong reasons for doubting—indeed, for totally denying it. Guido of Montefeltro, whose posterity long ruled in Italy with honour, as dukes of Urbino, was renowned as a general during his life, and in the early part of his career was a powerful enemy of the Church. In 1286 he was reconciled to the Holy See,ⁿ and continued faithful to it; till at length, weary of the world and its vanities, he applied for permission to exchange his helmet for the cowl, and his belt for the cord of the humble St. Francis.

Father Wadding has given us the letter addressed by Boniface to the Franciscan provincial of La Marca, in which he gives his consent to the pious desire, which he considers manifestly coming from God.^o The instrument is dated Anagni, July 23, 1296. In the month of November following, he took the habit at

^m Note to Ferrettus, ubi sup. p. 969.

ⁿ Istoria Fiorentina di Giachetto Malespini, cap. ccxxviii. R. I. S. tom. viii. p. 1045.

^o Annales Minorum, tom. v. ed. 2a, fol. 349.

Ancona. This remarkable change of life could not but powerfully strike those who witnessed it; and accordingly we find it entered into almost every contemporary chronicle. But suppose that, after a time, the friar had again been transformed into a soldier, had once more returned to the camp, and superintended the siege of Palestrina, is it not as probable, that so strange an event would have been equally noticed? And yet not one alludes to it. Wadding justly observes, that the simple statement, by grave and competent witnesses, that he persevered to his death in saintly humility and unceasing prayer, is surely to be preferred to the fictions of poets.^p No one, we imagine, will be inclined to doubt the truth of this assertion, which refers to the statement of Marianus, and James of Perugia, a contemporary writer. We will content ourselves with giving a few extracts more from such authors, to strengthen his argument.

The Annals of Cesena thus speak of Guido: "*Millmo. CCLXXXVI die xvii Novembris, Guido Comes Montis Feretri, Dux bellorum, Fratrum Minorum est religionem ingressus. Currente mcccxcviii die Dedicationis B. Michaelis in Civitate Anconæ est viam universæ carnis ingressus, et ibi sepultus.*"^q

Ricobaldus of Ferrara simply writes, "Guido Comes de Monteferetro quondam bellorum dux strenuus abdicato sæculo Ordinem Minorum ingreditur, in quo moritur."^r And in another work he writes of him as

^p "At domestici testes, et serii scriptores, dicentes hominem in sancta religione et perpetua oratione reliquos vitæ dies transegisse, et quam laudabiliter obiisse, præferendi sunt poetarum commentationibus."—Ib. fol. 351.

^q *Annales Cæsenates*, R. I. S. tom. xiv. p. 1114. This passage confirms the date assigned by F. Wadding, from Rubæus, to Guido's

th. *Compilatio Chronologica*, ib. tom. ix. p. 253.

then living : "Hoc tempore Guido comes de Montefereto, Dux bellorum strenuus, depositis honoribus sæculi, Minorum Ordinem ingressus est, ubi hodie militat in castris B. Francisci."

The Bolognese Chronicles thus speak of him :—
 "1296. Il Conte Guido di Montefeltro, nobile e strenuo in fatti d' arme . . . abbandonato il mondo, entrò nell' Ordine dei Frati Minori, dove finì sua vita."

This silence of all chronicles on so extraordinary an event, is certainly a powerful argument against the assertions of sworn adversaries at a considerable distance from the scene. Several other considerations concur to make us still further disbelieve the latter. First, their disagreement about important circumstances. Ferrettus, for instance, makes him actually come to the siege of Palestrina, and examine the fortifications, and pronounce them impregnable ; and then, as Sismondi follows him, ask, before giving his perfidious counsel, for absolution "*perpetrandi criminis.*"^u On the other hand, Pipino tells us that he positively refused to come, on account of his age and his religious vow, and therefore must have only sent to Boniface his base suggestion.^x Now surely this discrepancy between the only two historians who relate the story, upon so palpable and important a fact, as whether Guido was or was not at the siege, and acted the part of a general, is fatal to the whole narrative. Secondly, the total absence of any document on the subject in Boniface's Regesta. By this name is understood the original transcript of all documents issued in a pope's

^a Hist. Imperat. ib. p. 144.

^t Cronica di Bologna, R. I. S. tom. xiv. p. 299.

^u Ubi sup. p. 970.

^x "Qui cum constantissime recusaret id se facturum, dicens se mundo renuntiasset, et jam esse grandævum, papa respondit," &c.—Ibid. p. 741.

reign, the collection of which compilations forms the bulk of the papal archives. Those of Boniface consist of immense volumes (one, we believe, to each year), in which are beautifully written on vellum every letter, rescript, or decree issued day by day, divided into two classes, the second of which is formed of what are called the Curial Letters. When we read the history of Boniface's active life, and find that, notwithstanding his constant changes of residence, every document is entered in a fair hand, without an erasure or sign of hurry, we are led to form an advantageous idea of the order and regularity of his civil and ecclesiastical administration. But then the total absence of any document relating to a supposed transaction of his reign, must be equivalent to a contradiction of its having taken place.

To come to our present case; we have found in the second volume of his Regesta, Ep. 63, a letter by which Conrad of Montefeltro *citatur ad Curiam*,—is summoned to Rome on business; and another in the Curial Epistles (No. 2), in which Guido himself is summoned to come to Rome by a certain day, that the pope might consult with him on important affairs relative to the pacification of Italy. Again we have seen that the document exists (and it is in the Regesta), naming Landulf Colonna captain in the expedition, and a similar one is there relative to Matthew Colonna, who took a like part against his family.⁷ Now is it credible that not a trace should exist, in this collection, or in any other part of the papal archives, of any second summons to Guido, either directly or through his religious superiors, to come to the camp, nor any appointment of him to hold command or act as counsellor in the war? Yet it is

⁷ Lib. iii. Ep. 598.

even so. Not content with our own opportunities of research, we ventured to apply to the obliging and experienced prefect of the papal archives, to have a more minute examination made. The result the learned prelate has not only kindly communicated to us in person, but given to the world in an essay just published. We extract the following, sufficient for our purpose: "What shall I say of the advice supposed to have been given by Guido of Montefeltro to the same Boniface, on the siege of Palestrina, which he refused to undertake, because, to succeed, it was necessary to commit a sin, from which, however, Boniface showed himself most ready to absolve him? This account is Dante's, a notorious Ghibelline. Requested several times by the same person to search in the Vatican archives, if any document could be there found, bearing upon the circumstance: I can pledge my honour that I have not found any such;—a certain proof that none exists. The letter, at least, by which Boniface summoned Guido to come, ought to have come under my eye; but not even of this is there any trace in the Vatican Regesta."* This absence of any document in such a place is, we think, conclusive evidence against the supposed occurrence. Lastly, we consider the whole a fable, because we are satisfied that no such perfidious course as the narrative supposes, was pursued.

6. For, to come to the last part of Sismondi's account of the Colonna contest, we deny that Boniface offered such terms as are described, or that the city was delivered to him under conditions which he violated, or that the Colonnas, warned that their lives were in danger, refused to come to him, but fled. Before we proceed to the confutation of this account,

* *Diplomatica Pontificia*. Rome, 1841, p. 23.

we must go a little back. After the publication of the Colonna manifesto, the heads of the family remained intrenched in Palestrina; and, on the fourth of September, it was understood that hostilities would commence. Upon this, the municipal authorities of Rome held a solemn parliament in the Capitol, and sent a deputation to Palestrina to induce the Colonnese to humble themselves before the pope, and make full submission. They promised everything that was required, and the deputies then proceeded to Boniface at Orvieto, and interceded for them. He yielded, and promised to admit them to mercy, on condition of their delivering up their castles and persons.^a Instead of this, they openly received into their walls, Francesco Crescenzi and Nicola Pazzi, his avowed enemies, and, in addition, some emissaries of the king of Aragon, with whom he was at war. Then, and not till then, first on the 18th of November, and again on the 14th of December, he passed his final measures for war.^b This treaty or covenant cannot, of course, be the one of which Sismondi speaks: but we have thought it right to relate its history, to show the

^a After recounting the course pursued by the deputies, first in regard to the Colonnas, then to himself, he thus proceeds:—"Nos igitur illius vices gerentes, qui mortem non fecit, nec delectatur in perditionem virorum, et filios humiliter revertentes suaque recognoscentes peccata ad pœnitentiam libenter admittit, præfatis schismaticis, hostibus atque rebellibus [here follow the conditions] gremium non claudemus quin eos taliter redeuntes, sic misericorditer et benigne tractemus, quod sit grantum Deo, honorabile nobis et ipsi Ecclesiæ, et ex nostris, et ipsius Ecclesiæ actibus exemplum laudabile posteris relinquamus."—Apud Petrini, ex Archiv. S. Angeli, p. 420. What a different idea of Boniface's character do these words give us from modern historians' delineation of him! Who, on reading these words, does not believe that he would have acted mercifully?

^b See Petrini, 147.

character of those with whom Boniface had to deal, and the nature of the contest.

The city of Palestrina was vigorously besieged, and as vigorously defended; the question is, was it at length delivered up, under promises which were not kept? We answer, certainly not: and here our proofs are, to our minds, conclusive. In 1311, Clement V., at Avignon, consented to a process being instituted against the memory of Boniface, by Philip of France, Nogaret, the Colonnas, and all his other enemies. The preliminaries indicated anything but a wish to favour his predecessor. In the bull upon the subject, Clement is full of commendation of the king, and fully acquits him of any improper motives; while he orders all the letters and decrees against France to be expunged from the Regesta. This was done, as appears from their volumes; though fortunately the friends of Boniface had copies of many preserved. Full liberty was likewise granted to anyone to bring forward accusations against him. The Colonnas charged him with the very crime imputed to him by Sismondi, of having received surrender of their city and castles, under express compact,—“*per bullas et solemnes personas*” (Roman ambassadors or deputies), that he should only plant his banner upon the walls, leaving their custody in the hands of the family. We have two answers to this charge: one a compendious one, which we would gladly give at length; the other more detailed, put in by Cardinal Francesco Gaetani, existing in a parchment in the Vatican archives. We will give the substance of the replies, corroborating them with collateral evidence.

First, then, it is clear that no such compact was made with the Colonnas, because they cast themselves

• Ap. Petrini, 431.

at the pope's feet and sued for mercy. Sismondi tells us that, admonished of danger to their lives if they came before the pope, after they had agreed to surrender the town, they fled, and did not venture near him. Cardinal Cajetan states, that the Colonnas, coming from Palestrina to Rieti, went dressed in black and with cords round their necks, from the gates to the pope's presence, and prostrated themselves at his feet, one of them exclaiming: "Peccavi pater in cœlum et coram te, jam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus;" and the other adding: "Afflixisti nos propter scelera nostra." Now for this account, which is in flat contradiction to the one preferred by our historian, the cardinal appeals to the cardinals and prelates there present, and to the prince of Taranto, who was on the spot and willing to bear witness.^d This narrative is confirmed by abundant testimony. Pipino gives it in his own way. He tells us that they came to him as above described, and that the pope, "spretis lacrymosis eorum confessionibus atque precibus, velut aspis surda, non est misertus eorum."^e But the latter statement is contradicted by others, as well as Cardinal Francis. A chronicle of Orvieto says, that they were received "a Romana curia cum letitia multa."^f Villani, who asserts the town to have been treacherously taken possession of and destroyed, tells us, that "the Colonnese, clerks and lay, came to Rieti, and threw themselves at the pope's feet *for mercy, who pardoned them, and absolved them from their excommunication.*"^g Paolino de Piero, no friend of Boniface's, says, that they came *for mercy*, "whom the pope graciously, and in a kind manner (*grosamente e di buon aria*) pardoned, and absolved from excommuni-

^d Petrini, ubi sup.

^e Ubi sup. p. 737.

^f Quoted by Pet. p. 422.

^g Ubi sup. p. 39.

cation; then *Palestrina* was destroyed according to compact."^a

Secondly; when they came to Rieti, the city was already in the pope's hands, his general having possession of it. Is it likely that he would, after this, have contented himself with only having his standard there, or have entered into terms with his subdued rebels?

Thirdly; the cardinal denies that any such bulls, as those asserted, existed or could be produced; as none were.

Fourthly; he contradicts the assertion that any ambassadors or mediators were present, but only such intercessors as the Colonnas had themselves brought.

Fifthly; he maintains, that there was no truth in the assertion that the pope, after forgiving them, and imposing a penance on Stephen Colonna, sent knights after him to slay him.

Such is the evidence in favour of Boniface, of which it is useless again to complain, that not the slightest notice is taken, or hint given, by the historian of the Italian Republics. But the cause of Boniface, from whose "process," as it is called in the Vatican archives, these documents are extracted, was solemnly examined and judged by the general Council of Vienne, convoked and held in 1312, in great measure for that purpose. The decision was entirely in his favour: his memory was discharged from the slightest imputation, in the face of every hostile influence, ecclesiastical and civil. He was charged with heresy, witchcraft, idolatry, and disbelief. The proof of his idolatry was, that he had his portrait engraven on some of his gifts to churches; therefore he wished it to be worshipped. Of his disbelief in the real presence, that he turned

^a Cronica, R. I. S. tom. ii. p. 53.

his back on an altar while mass was celebrating. The answer was, the abundance of tears with which he celebrated the divine mysteries, and his splendid presents to many altars !¹

III. We must now hasten to his closing scene, a subject, no less than his opening one, of gross misrepresentation. On one point, indeed, all do him justice, in his noble bearing and intrepidity, when taken by his enemies. William of Nogaret, with a French force, and Sciarra Colonna, who, like his family, had long forgotten the pardon of Rieti, with a band of retainers, made their way through treachery into Anagni, the city so cherished and favoured by Boniface. They ran through the streets shouting "Long live the king of France, and death to Boniface!" The people, panic-struck, offered no resistance; and the two bands having forced their way into the palace, entered at different moments, and by different ways, the papal presence-chamber. In the meantime Boniface had arrayed himself in full pontifical vestments; and, seated on his throne (or as Sismondi writes, kneeling before the altar), with a crucifix in his hands,^k over which he hung, the venerable old man calmly awaited the approach of his enemies. The impetuous Sciarra, at the head of his band, with his drawn sword outstretched for vengeance, rushed into the room, but stood on the threshold, overawed and irresolute, before his lord. William of Nogaret followed, with his party, and less abashed, insultingly threatened to carry him off to Lyons, to

¹ Raynald. ex Processu, p. 550, ad an. 1312.

^k See the account in Villani, cap. 63, p. 116. Pipino tells us he had in his hand a portion of the true cross; and that, like our St. Thomas, he exclaimed: "*Aperite mihi portas cameræ, quia volo pati martyrium pro Ecclesia Dei.*"—P. 740.

be deposed by a general council. Boniface replied with a calm dignity, which abashed and humbled the daring Frenchman: "Here is my head, here is my neck; I will patiently bear that I, a Catholic, and lawful pontiff and vicar of Christ, be condemned and deposed by the Patareni.¹ I desire to die for Christ's faith, and His Church."^m This scene, which we only wonder has never been chosen as the subject of the artist's pencil, exhibits beyond almost any other in history, the triumph of moral over brute force, the power of mind, arrayed in true dignity of outward bearing, over passion and injustice. Even Dante relented at its contemplation, and indignantly sang of his enemy—

"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
Enel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un'altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e 'l fele
Etra vivi ladroni essere anciso."ⁿ

After three days' captivity, the people, aroused from their apathy, rescued him; and in a few days he was conducted to Rome; where, on the thirtieth day, he died. That his death may have been accelerated by the shock and sufferings of his captivity is not wonderful, considering that he was in his eighty-seventh year, and that his high and sensitive mind would be powerfully affected by the ingratitude of his subjects, and the insults inflicted on him. But such a view

¹ Nogaret's father had been punished for heresy.

^m This was proved in his process. See Rayn. ubi sup.; Rubæus, p. 214.

ⁿ "Entering Alagna, lo the fleur-de-lis,
And in his vicar Christ a captive led!
I see him mocked a second time;—again
The vinegar and gall produced I see;
And Christ himself 'twixt living robbers slain."

Wright's Dante—Purgatory, canto xx. l. 86-90.

would have aroused only our commiseration; and it was deemed expedient that the sympathies excited by the scene of his capture, should be effaced by a spectacle of another character. Sismondi, therefore, again takes Ferrettus as his guide, and tells us that Boniface, imprisoned in his apartments by the cardinal, fell into a violent passion, turned out his faithful servant John Campano, bolted the door, and after gnawing his staff, dashed his head against the wall, so as to embrue his grey hairs with blood, and then strangled himself with the bed-clothes.*

We suppose Sismondi was ashamed to follow Ferrettus to the extreme; and therefore omitted that he had gnawed his entire stick, a good long one, to bits ("baculum satis procerum dentibus conterit;" and again: "baculo *minutatim* trito"); that he invoked Beelzebub, though nobody was in the room, to hear him, and that he was possessed by the devil.^p These things would have rather been questioned in France of 1809; they are therefore prudently omitted, and just as much taken of the narrative as makes a good romance; for romance it is from beginning to end. At the foot of the page which M. Sismondi was quoting, he had Muratori's point-blank declaration that the whole story is an *unworthy lie* ("indignum mendacium"), and reference is made to where a full confutation was to be found. But to have made Boniface die in his bed, with the sacraments of the Church and like a good Christian, would have been very tame indeed, and would have spoiled all the point of the melodrama, which M. Sismondi had made of his history. Yet we fear we must be content with this less tragical, but more consoling, view of Boniface's end. In his "process" it was proved, that, lying on

* Sism. p. 150.

^p Ubi sup. p. 1008.

his bed through illness, “ he, according to the usage of the Roman pontiffs, recited, and made profession of, all the articles of faith in the presence of eight cardinals, concerning which the letters are extant of our brother Cardinal Gentili ;”^a and again, he is said “ to have professed in the presence of many cardinals, and other honourable persons, that he had ever held the Catholic faith, and wished to die in it.”^r Again Cardinal Stephanesius, an eye-witness, gives us the same account, and assures us that his death was most placid :—

—“ Christ odum redditur almus
Spiritus, et divi nescit jam judicis iram,
Sed mitem placidamque patris, ceu credere fas est.”^s

Surely, for the very honour of humanity, these authentic accounts ought, at least, to have been alluded to. But what are we to say to his dashing his head against the wall, and his haggard and frightful looks when dead, mentioned by Ferrettus? who, moreover, adds, that his corpse was buried in the earth, with a marble placed over it? Or of his hands and fingers gnawed, as some write?^t It pleased Divine Providence to give a striking confutation of these calumnies in 1605, exactly three hundred years after his death. The chapel in the Vatican, which he had built for his tomb, had to be taken down, and his body removed. The tomb (a sarcophagus, not the earth) being opened, his body was found almost completely incorrupt, with a most placid expression ; so perfect, that the smallest veins could be traced. It was carefully examined by medical men, and a minute *procès verbal* was drawn

^a Process, p. 37.

^r Ibid. p. 131.

^s De Canoniz. Cælest. lib. i. cap. xi. R. I. S. tom. iii. p. 660.

^t “ Mori, secondochè per più si disse, di rabbia, e mameandosi le mani.”—Paolino de Piero, ubi sup. p. 65.

up by a notary of its condition, and of the gorgeous pontifical robes in which it was attired. This may be seen at full length in Rubæus.^a Now, it is certain that nature does not cicatrize wounds after death; and yet not a trace could be found of any on the head: the skin was entire; and as to the gnawed hands, they were so beautiful, "as to fill with admiration all who saw them."

We may now draw to a close. We trust what we have written may suffice to put readers on their guard against the bold assertions of historians, on subjects like these. We must not, however, omit one or two remarks. Although the character of Boniface was certainly stern and inflexible, there is not a sign of its having been cruel or revengeful. Through the whole of his history, not an instance can be found of his having punished a single enemy with death. When he sent John of Palestrina to Cardinal Colonna, he might as easily have sent a body of his guards, and brought him by force into his presence. When the Colonnas all came before him at Rieti, he had them completely at his mercy; yet he hurt them not. How, then, can Sismondi's insinuations stand, that he intended to put them to death? Again, he forgave Guido of Montefeltro his many offences, as he did Ruggieri dell' Oria, another capital enemy of the Church.^x When he was returning to Rome, after his liberation, in a triumph never before witnessed, Cardinal Stephanesius tells us, that his principal enemy was seized by the people (Muratori supposes it to have been

^a Page 346.

^x "Questi Ruggieri dell' Oria era molto stato gran nemico della Chiesa e del Re Carlo, al quale a prego della reina e di Don Jacomo, Bonfazio che allora era papa, benignamente e graziosamente perdonò."
—Paolino di Piero, p. 50.

either Sciarra Colonna, or Nogaret), and brought before him, that he might deal with him as he pleased: he freely pardoned him and let him go.⁷ So, likewise, when Fra Jacopone fell into his hands, he dealt leniently with him, and confined him, where others would have treated the offence as capital.⁸ These examples of forgivingness and gentleness, to which we might add others, ought surely to have due weight in estimating the pope's character.

Moreover, we do not find in any writer, however hostile to him, the slightest insinuation against his moral conduct or character; and this is not a little in one who has been more bitterly assailed than almost any other pontiff. The charge of avarice, which has been often repeated, may well be met by the liberality displayed in the ecclesiastical endowments and presents, especially in favour of St. Peter's Church. His justice seems universally to have been acknowledged. Hallam attests the equity of his award^a between England and France.^a He reconciled the republics of Genoa and Venice; and all his negotiations between contending powers were to bring about peace. Even his most energetic transactions had this in view. Nearer home, Florence, as Dino Compagni assures us, called him in to decide, in its own differences, about compensation to Giano della Bella;^b and the Bolognese, as we learn from Matthew de Griffonibus, sent three ambassadors to him, and he was chosen arbitrator between them,

⁷ Ubi sup. p. 459.

⁸ See the beautiful history of this holy man (though in this part of his life led astray by mistaken zeal) in the tenth book of the delightful *Mores Catholici*, p. 407. The preceding page gives an account of Guido of Montefeltro.

^a Europe in the Middle Ages, ubi sup.

^b Cronica, lib. i. R. I. S. tom. iv. p. 478.

Ferrara, and Modena.^c Velletri named him its Podesta, or chief governor; Pisa voluntarily appointed him ruler of the state, with an annual tribute; and when he sent a governor there, it was with orders to swear to observe the laws of the place, and to spend all his income upon it.^d In fine, Florence, Orvieto, and Bologna, erected statues to him at a great expense, in token of their obligations, and admiration.^e Of his literary acquirements we need not speak: no one has disputed them; and the sixth book of Decretals will attest them so long as Christ's undying Church shall last.

^c *Memoriale Historicum*, ib. tom. xviii. p. 131.

^d *Rub. ex Archiv. S. Ang.* p. 90.

^e "Dicto anno [1301] statua sive imago Papæ Bonifacii VIII. posita fuit in palatio Bladi."—*Cronica di Bologna*, R. I. S. tom. xviii. p. 304. [This statue in bronze may still be seen at Bologna.]

•

EARLY ITALIAN ACADEMIES.

From the DUBLIN REVIEW for July, 1837.

EARLY ITALIAN ACADEMIES.

ART. VII.—*Mémoire sur la Détermination de l'Echelle du Thermomètre de l'Académie del Cimento.* Par. M. G. Libri. *Annales de Chimie et de Physique.* Par MM. GAY-LUSSAC et ARAGO. Vol. XLV.

It has been fashionable to treat the Catholic religion as hostile to the pursuit of physical science. What motives it can be supposed to have for such hostility, heaven knows. It surely could not fear that, from the study of astronomy, any objections could be drawn against transubstantiation, nor that chemistry or geology could overthrow its belief in purgatory. It is evident, in fact, that wherever any plausible charge has been made against it upon this head, it has not been connected with any supposed relation to *Catholic* dogmas, but only to the more general evidences of Christianity. In the painful transactions affecting Galileo, the solicitude of the parties concerned was, not to prevent conclusions from his principles contrary to any point of doctrine held exclusively by Catholics, but to silence objections against the inspiration and veracity of the Bible. They took up the cause, not of Rome, nor of the Holy See, but of Christianity in general; and, however mistaken they were in their opinions, it would be most unjust to charge them with any feeling, that doctrines contested between us and Protestants should be protected from the test of philosophical observation.

It is, however, upon the strength of Galileo's case, distorted and misrepresented as it has almost always been by Protestants, and often by Catholics, and worse explained and defended as it has been by others, that this species of accusation remains bolstered up against Rome. It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to enter into its merits; because it deserves a more minute examination than the immediate subject of this paper will permit. We will only remark, that, putting aside that single and singular case, in which one particular opinion, and not any science, was censured, it would be impossible to allege any ground for imputing to Rome any aversion to the prosecution of natural studies, much less any apprehensions of their results. At the very time of Galileo, Castelli, his favourite pupil, and Torricelli, the discoverer of the perfect vacuum, received every patronage; and the latter could with difficulty be induced to quit Rome for Florence, to stay there, after Galileo's death. On the treatment which Borelli and others of the same school received in the Holy City, our subject will lead us more directly to treat. The elder Cassini, who succeeded Cavalieri, the preparer of the way for the infinitesimal calculus, at Bologna, was most honourably treated, and employed by the Pope; as was, at a later period, Bianchini. The former was allowed to draw his splendid meridian in the church of St. Petronio, in Bologna, the latter in Sta. Maria degli Angioli, at Rome. The learned Jesuit, Boscovich, pursued his studies and gave his public lectures, not merely unmolested, but honoured and employed, particularly in the examination and repairs of St. Peter's cupola, when it threatened to give way, in consequence of imprudent alterations in its buttresses. His *Theory of Natural Philosophy* (1758) has formed the base of

many excellent works on the Newtonian Theory. But his contemporaries, the learned Fathers Jacquier and Lescur, of the order of St. Francis of Paul, in Rome, have certainly the merit of having published the best commentary on the illustrious English philosopher's work. (1739-42.) Jacquier was only twenty-eight years of age when the first part appeared; and he held the situation of Professor of Scripture in the college of Propaganda. This proves how little jealousy was felt of the philosophical or astronomical systems, held by an expounder of Holy Writ. Jacquier continued to receive tokens of peculiar kindness from the enlightened pontiffs, Benedict XIV. and his successors, to Pius VI., under whom he died.

Nor has there been, since his time, any want of learned and judicious philosophers in Rome, who have freely pursued their researches in every branch of science. Sir Humphrey Davy, it is well known, had several dear friends and associates in his chemical labours at Rome, where many of his experiments on the combustion of the diamond were performed. The operation of transfusion of blood, from the veins of one living person to another, was, we understand, first tried in the same city. The present pope has laid out very large sums in the construction and furnishing of new museums of natural history, in the Roman University. Every branch of science is conducted in the public schools of that city, upon the most modern and most enlarged plans. Perhaps the only class-book, into which Cauchy's latest researches into the Calculus of Remainders has been admitted, is that lately published by Father Caraffa, for the Jesuits' public schools at the Roman College.* But of these things, more

* [The late Jesuit, F. De Vico, is well known to all scientific astronomers. He received the highest honours from the learned

on some other occasion ; let us now to the matter more immediately on hand.

Upon the revival of letters, a rage seized the whole of Italy ; innocent, though extravagant ; useful, perhaps, although often absurd. This was in favour of academies, which sprang up in every town, and gloried in giving themselves the most ridiculous names. The purpose of these voluntary aggregations seldom rose higher than the composition, recitation, and occasional publication, of sonnets, pastorals, lyrics, and the other infinite species of rhymed effusions, in which Italians abound ; things, in general, of that standard which neither " gods, nor men, nor the columns " approve. Some, like the *Crusca*, at Florence, have indeed turned their verbal lucubrations to some better purpose ; but even on this, the absurdity of its name, which literally means the *Bran Academy*, and the homeliness of its symbol, a bolting mill, were calculated to throw ridicule. Two academies, or as we should now call them, societies, were, however, formed in the course of the seventeenth century, for a more useful and nobler purpose—the prosecution of science, by the combination of talent directed to different pursuits.

These were the Academy of Lincei (*Lyncæi*), at Rome, and that of the *Cimento*, at Florence. The history of one bears a considerable resemblance to that of the other. Each was planned and directed by one person, whose talents and influence enabled him to bring around him, and keep together, men of rare abilities ; and, after a short duration, both came to

Academies of every country in Europe, for his valuable researches. He was expelled from Rome, at the last revolution, came to London, thence proceeded to America, and on his return, died, yet young, in London. It need hardly be stated that Galvani was a professor in the papal university of Bologna.]

their end, by the removal of their respective founders. During their brief existence, both gave proof of indefatigable ardour, of sound views, and of encouraging success, in the pursuit of natural science. The name of the "Cimento" (*Experiment*), sufficiently explains the principle on which it planned its pursuits; the other, in choosing its title, allowed itself to be more tainted with the pedantry of the times; but still, in drawing it from the most sharp-sighted of animals, the lynx, wished to intimate that the constant observation of phenomena was the foundation of all natural philosophy.

The essay to which this article refers the reader, treats of the thermometers invented and used by the Florentine Academy. We notice it entirely on account of its containing the accusation, to which we alluded in the outset, founded on the history of that academy, that Rome was cruelly, nay brutally, hostile to the pursuit of these studies. To understand the writer's attack, it may be necessary to premise, that the *Accademia del Cimento* was formed and supported by Leopold, brother to Ferdinand II., fifth Grand Duke of Tuscany. He opened it solemnly, on the 19th of June, 1657. The members met at his house, being mostly, as well as himself and his royal brother, disciples of Galileo. They invented and constructed many valuable instruments, and made very interesting researches, communicated in papers published at the time, and afterwards reprinted by Targioni, in his history of the academy.^b After it had enjoyed nine years' existence, Prince Leopold accepted the cardinal's hat, and the academy was dissolved.

The causes and history of this dissolution, are pretended to be stated by the writer before us. He tells

^b "Atti e Memorie inedite dell' Accademia del Cimento," 4 vols.

us that "political motives induced Prince Leopold of Medici, Protector of the Academy *del Cimento*, to solicit the hat; that his request was granted only on condition that he should sacrifice the academy, over which he presided, to the implacable hatred which the court of Rome bore to the memory and to the disciples of Galileo. Consequently the Academy of the Cimento was dissolved, and Borelli was seen begging in the streets of Rome; and Oliva, with his bones half broken by torture, saved himself by suicide from the fresh torments prepared by the Inquisition. Many original writings of Galileo and his disciples were committed to the flames." In another passage, the writer thus proceeds: "The proscription which fell upon the writings of the great men of Florence, did not spare their instruments. Those which were saved from destruction, were chiefly apparatus for show, of which little use was ever made. But those small thermometers, made with spirits of wine, and divided into fifty degrees of which the academicians speak as agreeing perfectly one with another, were nowhere to be found." (P. 354.)

We hardly know how to characterize the condensation of mis-statements and calumnies which crowds these lines. Their author is an Italian, who declares that he has turned his attention most particularly to the history of science in Italy.^c He quotes no authority for his assertions; he makes them with the bold assurance of a man who is either only repeating well-known facts, or is entitled to full credit, as treating of

^c [It is with sincere regret that we write thus of so able and learned a man; but through all his works the same hostile and rancorous feeling against the Church appears. We will not imitate him by joining his calumniators; but we heartily acquit him, after examining the evidence, of the grievous charges made against him in France.]

matters within his peculiar sphere of information. And yet, from first to last, there is not a word of truth in what he speaks. We are anxious to prove this to the full, lest some of our over-zealous adversaries should be blindly led to adopt and repeat these foolish untruths, as they have done so many others.

And first, as to the imaginary cause of all this persecution—"the implacable hatred of the Church of Rome towards the memory and disciples of Galileo." It is observed that the academy most religiously abstained from maintaining those opinions which had embroiled Galileo with the Inquisition, and confined itself chiefly to experimental philosophy. At the time that this hatred of Rome is represented as exercised even against inanimate apparatus, Father Kircher, a Jesuit, was busily engaged in that city, in constructing instruments; and even Galileo's invaluable invention, the telescope, not only first received this name in the same city, but was best manufactured there, by Guiseppe Campani, Umbrian from S. Felice, and Eustachio Divini, from S. Severino, whose lenses and telescopes were sent to Florence, and even to Paris. It was a long way to go, as far as the banks of the Arno, to wreak vengeance on the memory of Galileo, by breaking scientific instruments, when the task might have been more easily accomplished nearer home.

But this charge of hostility to the pursuit of science falls, unluckily for this author, upon two popes, whose characters can best repel it. The first is Alexander VII., during whose reign the academy was founded and flourished. He was a man, as Giordani writes, "of mild manners, and an elegant Latin and Italian scholar;" or, as Botta describes him, "prudent, and a lover of learning." (Vol. vii. p. 136.) But Targioni has more completely let us into his character, as it

interests us on the present occasion. He calls him "learned, a man of good taste, extremely fond of mechanics, and of experimental philosophy." He informs us, and proves, by authentic documents, that Prince Leopold occasionally sent presents of apparatus to him. (Vol. i. pp. 66, 264, 465; ii. part 1, p. 337.) Again, whom should Leopold choose to revise the Essays of the Academy, but Monsignor Michelangelo Ricci, a Roman prelate attached to the personal service of this pope and his successors, and a regular correspondent of the academy; and Megalotti, born, educated, and living in Rome? And before the work was quite printed off, the sheets were sent, through the learned Octavius Falconieri, member of the academy, to Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, one of the pope's most confidential friends, who wrote that he had perused them with great delight. (*Targioni*, i. 416, 455.)

This intimate connection and correspondence surely looks more like a good understanding between Rome and the academy, than implacable hostility on the part of one against the other. The pope who bestowed the purple on Prince Leopold was Clement IX., a Tuscan no less than his predecessor Alexander; and the accusation must be still more harmless when made against him. Both before and after his promotion he was a devoted friend of the Medici, and consequently not likely to feel such hatred, as has been described, against the academy which they so much cherished. But where was it likely that he should have imbibed this mortal antipathy to the memory of Galileo? For his philosophical studies had been made at Pisa, under the direction of the celebrated Benedetto Castelli, the dearest friend and scholar that Galileo ever had, and his successor in that university.

The pope, moreover, was the protector of Cassini, and of Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal, Ricci, whom we have already named. This reasoning, however, may appear to amount to no more than a plausible argument; positive confutations will be easily found.

Monsignor Angelo Fabroni, in his *Life of Clement IX.*, assures us that he had originally believed the story of the pope's having stipulated for the dissolution of this academy when he granted the cardinal's hat to Leopold. But the perusal of the original correspondence upon the subject, between the Holy See and the Tuscan minister, Montanti, completely satisfied him that it was false. For there was not even a distant allusion to any such stipulation. Indeed, so far from Leopold's having solicited the purple, from political or any other motives, and consequently having to submit to any conditions, Clement was the first to write to the duke, that he had reserved a hat for one of his brothers. And having learnt that Leopold and Matthias both aspired to the dignity, he offered to bestow it upon both, as their virtues and acquirements rendered them both worthy of it. Hence, Targioni, who is ever inclined to suspect enmity to the academy from every quarter, and who in the first volume had expressed a suspicion that the elevation of Leopold had contributed to its extinction, in the subsequent part retracts his opinion, and expresses his conviction to the contrary.

How, then, it may be asked, did this useful institute so soon come to an end? We answer, from natural and evident causes. It was never formally closed or dissolved, but fell into decay. In the first place, its principal and most active members, Borelli, Oliva, and Rinaldini, spontaneously abandoned Florence about the same time. This Leopold assigns as a

cause of the decay of his academy two months after his promotion, though he speaks of it as still existing. (*Lettere inedite d' Uomini illustri*, i. 462.) Rinaldini had been an engineer in the service of Popes Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and preceptor to the Princes Barberini, of the first-named pope's family. He afterwards occupied a chair at Pisa, and then became preceptor to the heir-apparent. In 1667 he requested permission to quit Tuscany on account of his health, and retired to Padua, whence he returned to his native city, Ancona, where he died. Now, Targioni informs us that his departure "greatly displeased Prince Leopold, because it *thwarted the progress* of the academy." So far were they from any idea even then of dissolving it, though the negotiations about the cardinalship must have been then completed. In the two following years the cardinal himself made journeys to Rome; and this still further led to the disorganization of the body. Indeed, before he accepted the hat, he complained, and Megalotti, in his preface to the *Transactions of the Academy*, confirms the complaint, that the prince's numerous occupations had, for some time, prevented him from interesting himself as he wished, in these his favourite pursuits. (*Targ.* i. 424.)

In fact, so little aware were the most intimate friends of the Tuscan prince, that the academy was to be dissolved, that Megalotti wrote to him from Antwerp, proposing a new member, a learned convert, in place of one of the three who had left it. "Truly," he says, "in the present dispersion of the academy, by the departure of Borelli, Oliva, and Rinaldini, nothing could be more desirable; and if the other two places could be equally well filled up, we should be pretty well consoled for our loss." He then observes

that Borelli, though possessed of splendid talents, was "a capricious and almost intolerable man." (*Lettere inedite*, i. 295.) In fine, as late as 1669, Borelli speaks of the academy as still existing, nearly three years after Leopold's promotion. (*Historia et Meteorologia Incendii Etnæ Pref.*) So that, although the academy may be said to have virtually expired three years before, it is evident that it cannot be affirmed to have been suppressed by the pope, nor by anyone else.

Hence, Botta, no friend to the papal see, attributes its dissolution to the discord among its members, and to the elevation of Leopold. But he expressly observes that it was not molested by the court of Rome, under Alexander. The suppression then is all a fable, as is its alleged motive. So far from any hatred existing in Rome to the memory of Galileo, we should rather say that it was held in veneration. In the first edition of Borelli's great posthumous work, *De Motu Animalium*, now before us, printed at Rome in 1680, with all the usual approbations of the ecclesiastical authorities, we find that the learned editor, Father Charles a Jesu, general of the order of the *Scuole pie*, boasts of one of his body as having been "*Galilei clarissimi viri auditor*:" an expression which does not betray feelings at all akin to hatred or hostility.

So much, then, for the barter of a cardinal's hat against the suppression of a scientific society. Next comes the more odious charge of Borelli's beggary, and Oliva's broken bones. It does not require great sagacity to ask the question, what on earth could have taken these two men to Rome, if such a lot awaited them? Supposing their academy to have been suppressed by an act of papal bigotry, can we imagine them, if sane, to have thrown themselves personally within the reach of the hatred, that had shown itself

so implacable towards them, as disciples of Galileo ? For it is not pretended that, like their master, they were summoned to Rome, or commanded even to quit Florence. The truth is, that the whole is a fiction, like the torture of that illustrious man. A brief account of their history will fully explain the matter.

Borelli, after having studied mathematics in Rome, under Father Castelli, taught the sciences at Messina, whence he was invited by the Grand Duke, into Tuscany, in 1656. Two years later he travelled to Rome for the purpose of studying Arabic, as he wished to translate, from that language, the books lost in Greek of Appollonius's Conic Sections. For this end he took lessons from Abraham Echellensis, a learned Syrian, author of several valuable works. In March, 1667, while Alexander VII. yet sat, and consequently before there was the least idea of Leopold's elevation to the purple, much less of any conditions to be made upon the occasion, Borelli requested leave to quit Tuscany, and return to Messina. (*Lett. ined.* i. 133. Targ. i. 215.) Redi, in one of his letters, tells us, that the prince was exceedingly displeased at his departure ; and Fabroni has given a letter from the duke to his brother, in which he complains of Borelli's conduct, and says that the fickleness of his disposition, and the restlessness of his brain, and not his health, were the motives of his departure. (Vol. i. p. 135.) Marini has recorded a gross insult which Borelli and Oliva received from some drunken guards at the palace, which may have contributed to their wish to leave. (*Nelli, Saggio Letterario*, p. 116.) At Messina, Borelli lived in some splendour, till 1674, when he thought proper to take an active part in the insurrection that happened there. He saved himself from justice by flight, and arrived at Rome in great distress.

The patronage and liberality of Christina, queen of Sweden, enabled him to pursue his studies, till her circumstances became embarrassed; and at the same time a worthless servant robbed him of whatever he possessed. In all this there is no sign of any papal persecution; nor would it be easy, for the most ingenious tracer of cause and effect, to establish a connection between his sufferings, and hatred at Rome of the scholars of Galileo. But even at this period, Borelli was not reduced to the necessity of seeking alms. He accepted the invitation of the Fathers of the *Scuole pie* to live in their house, and teach mathematics. Here he gave himself up to a life of edifying devotion, charming everyone by his cheerfulness and amenity, till his death, which happened in the last hour of the year 1679. His work *De Motu Animalium* appeared the next year, through the bounty of Queen Christina.

Such is the simple narrative of Borelli's history; Oliva's presents a sadder picture of human frailty and misery. When young, theological secretary to Cardinal Barberini, from whose house he was expelled; next a captain of freebooters in Calabria, he came from prison to teach medicine at Pisa. In 1667 he quitted Tuscany with an indifferent reputation for morals, as Targioni observes (i. 227), and came to Rome; where, instead of being seized by the Inquisition and stretched on the rack, he was engaged to attend, in quality of physician, Don Tommaso Rospiiglioso, nephew of Clement IX. (*Granai, Risposta Apolog.* p. 176.) Tiraboschi informs us that he had easy access to several pontiffs (*Storia Letter.* Ed. Rom. viii. 210); and, according to Targioni, he held a situation in the palace. During all this time we have no traces of any animosity against him, for having been

a member of the Cimento, or a disciple of Galileo. After the death of Innocent XI., he was discovered to be deeply concerned in a society of a highly immoral character and was imprisoned. While led to examination a second time, he slipped from his guards, threw himself headlong from an open window, and died in three hours. Romolini speaks severely of the evil life and death of Oliva, and quotes Marini to the same effect, and for the narrative we have given. (*Ragionamento sulla Satira*; in *Mencini's Satire*, p. 84.) As to any torture, it seems a pure invention of the liberal Italian, whose essay we are examining.

Two charges yet remain, and we will handle them more lightly. And first, what truth is there in the story of Galileo's manuscripts being destroyed? It had indeed been asserted, long ago, that on the death of Father Renieri, who possessed Galileo's papers, his study was visited, and all his papers, as well as that philosopher's, seized; and the writer gives it *as a report*, that this was done by the inquisitor. (*Lett. ined.* i. 74.) But then all this must have happened, if it ever did, in 1648, nearly *ten years before the foundation of the academy*, and consequently can have nothing to do with any papal stipulations about its suppression. The account, moreover, must be inaccurate, as Renieri's own papers served Targioni for his history, consequently cannot have been destroyed; and it is certain that he did not possess all Galileo's. Some of these are said to have been burnt by his nephew in a fit of scrupulous alarm about his uncle's orthodoxy. But the essayist informs us that other writings of the Florentine philosopher were "turned to the vilest purposes." We suppose he alludes to the following circumstance:—Many of Galileo's manuscripts were placed in the hands of Viviani, who had

undertaken a magnificent edition of his works, and was much encouraged in the project by Cardinal Leopold. (*Grandi*, p. 66.) Upon his death they came into the possession of the Abate Panzanini, and, upon the decease of the latter in 1737, were so far neglected, that a servant visited them from time to time, and carried away many of them

“ In vicum vendentem thus et odores,
Et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.”

A certain Cioci, celebrated for his savoury wares, having been favoured among others with a parcel, and having used some for wrapping up his sausages, which enjoyed a great reputation, the discovery was made, and the remnant preserved from destruction. (*Targioni*, i. 124.) This, unfortunately, has been the fate of too many valuable papers. Within these two years, we have heard that the Barberini library at Rome has been plundered precisely in the same manner of important documents, which were discovered by the very same means. We ourselves are sufferers in a similar way; as are several of our friends, whose fires have been kindled for successive months with old records, carefully laid up, but considered, by the sagacity of servants, as put by for their especial use, in the process of domestic calefaction. Prejudice must have run high in our author's mind, to make him connect this sacrilegious larceny, perpetrated by a valet and a cheesemonger, seventy years after the dissolution of the academy, with this dissolution, and lay it, moreover, to the score of popes, long before gathered to their fathers. The papers belonging to the academy remain safe in possession of the Segni family, having been left them by the Senator Alexander Segni, first secretary of the academy.

Secondly, as to the destruction of the philosophical apparatus, we beg to observe that it is as true as the remainder of the narrative. It would, indeed, have been matter of small surprise, if even all the instruments had been dispersed, and gradually lost or destroyed, after the society which used them had been dissolved. But this was not the case. The collection remained where Cardinal Leopold had always kept it, till Florence became subject to the emperor. It was then deposited in the house of the imperial machinist Vayringe; after whose death, a part was sent to Vienna by order of Francis I., the greater part were placed in two rooms adjoining the library of the Pitti Palace, where Targioni saw them. Some also were preserved, in his time, in the mathematical room, as it was called, of the Ducal Gallery. But what makes this accusation still more intolerable is, that in 1829, the Cavalier Antinori, director of the Museum, discovered a chest in which were several instruments, and among them a number of thermometers with a scale of 50°, which form the subject of the accuser's essay. (*Antologia di Firenze*, Oct. 1830, p. 141.) There is no more truth, therefore, in the broken instruments than in Oliva's broken bones; the whole account is a disgraceful perversion of facts, for the purpose of holding up Rome to reprobation as the persecutor of scientific studies.⁴

⁴[An instance of real destruction of most valuable apparatus has unfortunately occurred lately at Rome. During the late revolutionary state of that city, the Roman College, occupied by the public schools, conducted by the Jesuits, and one of the most splendid buildings in the city, was set on fire, with evidences of fore-planning, which left no doubt of its being the work of an incendiary. The most combustible spot was chosen; where, instead of vaulted ceilings, timber had been used in the edifice. Had the fire not been promptly extinguished, by extraordinary energy (for a diversion had

We have had sufficient experience of the frauds published in our own country for the same purpose, not to have used our humble endeavours to prevent this being added to the stock in trade of our controversial travellers. It would make a pretty appendix to Galileo's history. We doubt not but it would be greatly relished in Exeter Hall, where every atrocity is fondly credited which can inspire a nursery horror of the pope. We verily believe that if the story were served up with some additional contemporary relish—as for example, that the present pope had renewed the war against science, and had sent forth an army of Jesuits through his dominions, with orders to spike every telescope, and to dismantle every voltaic battery, the whole, tail and all, would be swallowed by the gaping mouths of the audience in that precious conventicle.

We mentioned, at the beginning of this article, the Roman academy of the *Lincei* as devoted to the same

previously been made by a fire out of the walls, which had drawn away all the engines, especially those stationed near the Roman College), the loss would have been irreparable. The magnificent library, with a most valuable collection of Chinese MSS., would have perished. As it was, it suffered serious damage, from the confusion that occurred in carrying out the books, contrary to the wishes of Father Secchi, whose admirable coolness, and care to exclude officious enemies, probably saved the building. As it was, the magnificent hall in which prizes used to be distributed, with its most valuable, and to many of us, truly dear, frescoes, was destroyed, by the falling in of its ceiling. Over this was a series of cabinets, containing a large collection of apparatus, unique, perhaps, from the rich historical series which it embraced; for it began with the rudest and earliest specimens, and came down, unbroken, to the latest refinements of scientific invention. This collection almost entirely perished. In addition, the rooms of St. Aloysius suffered grievous damage. No doubt any amount of barbarism and destruction of scientific apparatus is justifiable when committed out of hatred to Jesuits, by a liberal faction; and no denunciation of the deed has come forth from learned republicans.]

purposes as the *Cimento*; in fact, it was its model, and hardly deserves less fame. Yet it has been comparatively overlooked. On the present occasion, however, it is forcibly recalled to our minds, not merely by the resemblance we pointed out between it and its more celebrated successor, but still more by its giving a proof that the Holy See felt no jealousy of such institutions. For, when we see an academy consisting of a few philosophers, united under the patronage of a prince, for the ardent pursuit of the same studies as the Florentine, counting, which the other never did, Galileo himself among its members, yet not only unmolested, but patronized by the pope and his family, we can hardly conceive it possible that Rome should ever have felt a hatred against science, which could go so far to display itself.

But, to our minds, there is a deeper interest attached to the brief annals of this Roman academy. They are interwoven with the amiable, virtuous, and heroic character of its youthful founder, so as to possess all the stirring interest of a romance. They display, beyond almost anything else we ever read, the purity of purpose, the chastity of mind, the nobleness of soul, which a devotedness to the study of nature, when sanctified by religion, can bestow. They exhibit all the meek courage of the martyrs, in the humbler, but dearer, sphere, of domestic persecution. We repeat it, the history of this academy, with its Prince Federico Cesi for the hero, would present ample materials for a romance, full of incident and spirit, and rich in the most varied characters.

Federico Cesi, son of the duke of Acquasparta, was born in 1585. In 1603, when eighteen years of age, he laid the foundation of his academy, being already in correspondence with some of the first philosophers of

the age. His first companion in his plan was Francesco Stelluti, who possessed an equal ardour for science, morals equally pure, and a piety equally fervent. Having heard of John Eckius, or Reckius, a Hollander practising medicine in the little town of Scandriglia, in Sabina, a man deeply versed in every branch of philosophy, they invited him to settle in Rome, attached to the Cesi family. Finding the want of order and system in their studies, they arranged the plan of an academy, and, to complete it, added to their number Anastasio de Filiis, a young nobleman of Terni, who had a particular turn for mechanics; and, being a relation of the family, lived in their house. On the 17th of August, 1603, the academy was inaugurated by its young *prince*, as he was henceforth called. Its meetings were to be quite private; and in their researches were to embrace every branch of natural and moral philosophy. By the 22nd of October they had finished the construction of a great planisphere, on which were drawn the ancient and modern systems of astronomy. They met three times a week, and had five lectures at each meeting; and the subjects treated show how active each member must have been in his pursuits. Persecution, however, soon disturbed their tranquillity. The morals of the academicians were irreproachable; and their statutes prescribed virtue as the first duty. Among the numerous dependants of the duke were many who, instigated by jealousy or worse motives, poisoned his ear, and filled him with suspicions against his son. He made every effort to separate him from his companions, and to wean him from his studies, but in vain. With his mother, a woman of sincere piety, and who to the end was kind and affectionate to him, they endeavoured to prevail by insinuations against his moral character; and at

length succeeded so far as to render her uneasy in his regard. On Christmas-day, when the very existence of the academy seemed precarious, the prince assembled it, and, after a touching speech, invested each member with a gold chain. They agreed to a new code of laws; among which was one, that every meeting should be opened by prayer. St. John the Evangelist was chosen patron of the academy; and, forthwith proceeding to his church, they implored his intercession in their difficulties.

But the duke was a man of haughty, overbearing disposition, dark in his plots, and inexorable in his resentments. To such an excess did he carry his enmity, that his son was obliged to fly from his house, and was pursued by him with an armed band. Stelluti was compelled to return to Fabriano, and De Filiis to Terni, surrounded by emissaries, and threatened by the bravoës of the stern old lord. Yet, when so dispersed, they continued to correspond, and even to meet in the country, at the risk of life. Eckius, obliged also to conceal himself, had his apartment broken open by the duke's orders, his furniture demolished, and the collections and instruments destroyed. But the wily tyrant wove around him a darker mesh. He affected kindness and respect towards him; and, having drawn from him the names of his sworn enemies, suborned them to make the vilest accusations against him before the ecclesiastical authorities. His life was threatened, on Holy Thursday, by an assassin; and, after having lain concealed and almost starved, in young Cesi's apartment, for many days, with sentinels at every door, he was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was escorted by a band of hired ruffians to Holland. On his way, he wrote his observations on natural history, with admirable drawings on the

margin, which he sent to Rome. They were preserved, with the diary and other papers of the academy, in the Albani Library, till the French invasion. His guards left him without money at Turin; but he proceeded to Holland, and thence to England and Scotland, on which he likewise wrote his observations. Cesi retired to Naples, where he still pursued his studies. Eckius returned to Rome in 1606, as appears from a letter written by him to the celebrated Kepler; but new persecutions obliged him again to fly, till 1614, when, for the last time, he returned to the Eternal City.

The annals of the society are silent till 1609; a year remarkable in the history of science, for the invention of the telescope. The news of the accidental discovery at Middleburg, which suggested the idea of that invaluable instrument to Galileo, reached Italy in the spring of that year; and we have a letter of Della Porta at Naples, to Cesi, dated August 28, in which he gives a drawing of a telescope, with a reference, for its principles, to his work on optics, published in 1589. When we consider that Galileo did not exhibit his in Rome till 1611, it will seem probable that Della Porta was guided by his own sagacity to divine the nature of the new invention. One thing, however, the historian of this academy considers pretty certain; that the names "telescope" and "microscope" were first devised by Federico Cesi. When Galileo came to Rome, he became a member of the academy, at whose expense some of his works were printed. Indeed, by the year 1612, it had extended its reputation very far; had undertaken the publication of several works, among the rest, the observations of Hernandez on the natural history of New Spain, with notes by the academy; and had formed a plan for branch societies, with a college at Naples. The work of Hernandez

did not, however, appear till 1651 (two vols. fol.); and it has prefixed a brief, dated 1627, of Pope Urban VIII., the very pope under whom Galileo was condemned, in praise of the academy. To the same pope, Cesi dedicated his microscopic observations on the bee; and his nephew, Cardinal Barberini, entered his name among the members of the academy.

But, in the meantime, new domestic troubles had gradually withdrawn Cesi from his previous undivided attention to the interests of this society. He had married; and, in addition to the cares of his own household, had to undertake the management of his father's property; for the old nobleman, extravagant as he was imperious, had fallen into considerable embarrassment; and, reserving an annuity, made over his estates to his son, who engaged to pay all creditors. Cesi was obliged to reside upon the estate of Acquasparta, upwards of a hundred miles from Rome; and, at the same time, his father's waywardness and tyranny wore out his spirits, and undermined his constitution. The duke died on the 24th of June, 1630; and, on the 2nd of August, his son followed him to the grave, at the age of forty-five. He seems to have been the idol of all that knew him. His portrait exhibits a mild, and thoughtful, and noble countenance; and every record proves that, while in moments of danger and difficulty, he could display the greatest courage and dignity, yet, when contending with the capricious tyranny of his father, he never, in word or act, transgressed the duty of an obedient son. He was well versed in every class of literature; seems to have been a proficient in Arabic; and, when Cardinal Bellarmine consulted him upon some points of natural history, his answer, though written in the country, contained so much learned discussion upon the doctrine of the

Fathers, whose passages he quoted on the subject, that the eminent theologian affectionately chid him for such an unnecessary display of learning. This correspondence is given by Scheiner in his *Rosa Ursina*. Cesi was one of the first to make accurate observations on fossil woods, and to discover the system of propagation of ferns. Brown has accomplished what the Lincei were anxious to do, to commemorate his name in science by conferring it on some plant. His class of *Cæsia*, in Australian botany, is called after him.

After Cesi's death, the academy languished on for twenty years, when it became extinct. His death, indeed, was so sudden, that he did not make a will; and thus his museum, with its curious collections and instruments, became the property of his family. Bianchi, who wrote a history of the academy, endeavoured to revive it, but failed.* At the beginning of this century it was renewed. Pope Leo XII. gave it apartments in the Capitol, and built for it there an observatory, now under the direction of its president, Scarpellini. Its apparatus is very complete; and we have now lying before us an able paper lately read in it, by the learned Father Pianciani, containing some new experiments and results upon electro-magnetism. The present pope[†] pays an annual visit to this establishment.

We might have added to this sketch the history of

* For our account of the Lincei we are indebted to Prince Odescalchi's work upon the subject, 4to. Rome, 1806.

For a correct account of the state of natural philosophy in the middle ages, and an exposure of many erroneous opinions of modern writers as to the supposed hostility of the Church to scientific pursuits, see cap. vii. viii. and ix. of Mr. Digby's admirable *Ages of Faith*, book viii.

[†] [Gregory XVI.]

other scientific academies, as that of Bologna, which succeeded the Cimento, and reached its glory under Morgagni; for it never experienced anything but countenance and protection from the sovereign pontiffs; but what we have written is sufficient for our purpose, which was to disprove the assertions of Libri, and at the same time, to show the slight grounds of plausibility on which they rest.

THE END.

~~585 NOV 25~~
~~585 NOV 25~~

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 06436 6878

